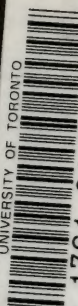



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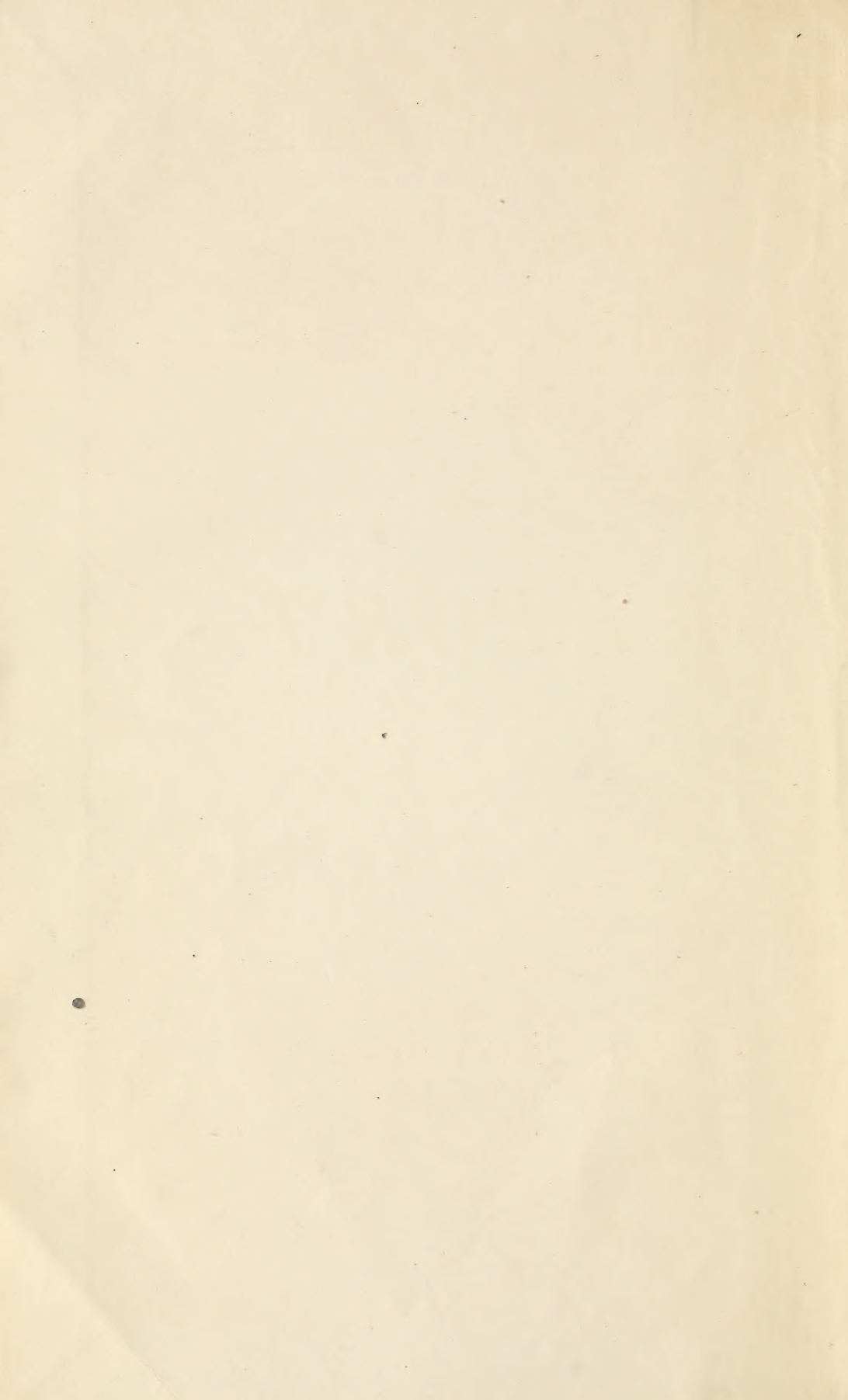
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British Labour  
Delegation to  
Russia 1920

REPORT

BY THE  
BRITISH LABOUR DELEGATION  
TO THE  
RUSSIAN SOVIET FEDERATION  
1920





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# British Labour Delegation to Russia 1920

## *REPORT*

LONDON:

AT THE OFFICES OF THE  
*TRADES UNION CONGRESS*  
32 ECCLESTON SQUARE, S.W.1

AND

*THE LABOUR PARTY*  
33 ECCLESTON SQUARE, S.W.1

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4/4/21

## *Editorial Note*

The British Labour Delegation to Russia brought back with them a large number of printed documents and a number of specially prepared statements written on behalf of different persons or groups in Russia. Certain of these documents have been selected for publication as Appendices to the main Report, the principle adopted in the selection being that of choosing documents giving expression to characteristic and important views, Bolshevik and non-Bolshevik. It has not been possible to publish more than a small selection of documents; the remainder are deposited with the Labour Party at 33, Eccleston Square, S.W. 1., and are available for the use of accredited persons. The editing of the papers published has involved considerable difficulty, as a number of the specially prepared communications were written in the English language by persons very imperfectly acquainted with that medium of expression. This fact has meant the extensive re-arrangement of words and sentences, but it is felt that the sense of the original has been maintained. The minimum amount of re-arrangement has been done so that some of the sentences remain in their first form.

Other Appendices give the news and observations of individual members of the delegation on matters in which they were particularly interested.

L. HADEN GUEST.



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# *Report of the British Labour Delegation to Russia*

**T**HE *British Labour Delegation to Russia* was sent out by the Labour Party and the Trades Union Congress acting on a resolution passed by a special Trades Union Congress on December 10, 1919. This resolution demanded:—

*“The right to an independent and impartial inquiry into the industrial, political and economic conditions in Russia.”*

The delegation consisted of nine persons—seven men and two women—and they were accompanied by two delegates (men) from the British I.L.P. Correspondents of newspapers were also with the party, but did not accompany them in all of their investigations.

The British Foreign Office, when applied to for permission to go to Russia, referred the question to the consideration of the Council of Three then sitting at San Remo, and obtained their consent to issue passports to proceed to Esthonia or Finland for the purpose of entering Russia—the latter country, however, not being mentioned. The Soviet Foreign Office, through M. Litvinoff at Copenhagen, telegraphed a prompt and cordial acceptance of the proposed visit, and the delegation left England on April 27 and crossed the Russian Esthonian frontier on May 10, arriving at Petrograd on the following day. On the evening of May 16, the delegation left Petrograd for Moscow, where they arrived the following noon, and remained in Moscow until the 28th, when they travelled to Nijni-Novgorod and embarked on the ss. “Bielinski” for the voyage down the Volga to Saratov. At Saratov the majority of the party returned to Moscow, but certain members (owing to the illness of one of their number) remained on board and proceeded as far as Astrakhan on the Caspian Sea, and returned by ship to Saratov. The party who returned first to Moscow visited the Polish front near Smolensk.

The shortest period any member of the party was in Russia was about three weeks; the majority of the members were there for about six weeks; and one remained longer to study peasant questions in the Samara Government.

## *CONDITIONS OF INQUIRY*

During their visit to Russia the delegation saw and talked with the chief members of the Government, with influential workers in the Soviet and in the Trade Unions, with propagandists and educationists, and with members of



political parties opposing the Communists. Numerous institutions were visited including factories, workshops, Soviet stores, co-operative societies, schools and hospitals. Theatres were visited both in Petrograd and Moscow; numerous meetings were addressed; receptions and dinners were attended; great parades of troops were reviewed in Petrograd and Moscow, and the army seen at work at the front at Smolensk. In addition to this, numerous private persons were interviewed. The delegates generally had freedom of movement and inquiry, and were able to make individual investigations; they feel assured that they were able to see a substantially normal sample of Russian life. Both town and country were seen. Throughout the visit the delegation were received everywhere by the Civic and Trade Union authorities with military guards of honour, with bands playing the "Internationale," during which all stood at the salute, and by a very real and genuine popular interest and welcome from peasants and workers. We were the open door into the outer world which had been shut so long.<sup>1</sup>

We feel it necessary to begin by pointing out that most accounts of Soviet Russia which we had seen in the capitalist press of our own country proved to be perversions of the facts. The whole impression gained was of a different character from that presented by these accounts. We did not see any violence or disorder in the streets, though we walked about them freely at all hours of the day and night. We did not see people fall dead of starvation in the streets. We did not see any interference with the religious life of the people. We did not see any Chinese soldiers. We saw no evidence of extraordinary luxury on the part of the leading Commissars. We did not find that either women or children had been nationalised. We certainly did witness a widespread breakdown in the transport system with deplorable economic consequences, and we saw terrible evidences of under-feeding and suffering. These points have been dealt with, however, in the Reports already issued by the Delegation on the iniquitous policy of intervention and blockade.

### *GENERAL CONDITIONS: FOOD AND CLOTHING*

The first thing to which the attention of the delegation was directed on entering Russia was the question of public order and the conditions of the people—their individual physical condition, their clothing, the conditions of their daily life and work, the houses they lived in, the appearance of their children. Our first impressions in these respects were confirmed throughout our stay.

With regard to public order there is very little to choose between one side of the Russian frontier and another. In both, peasants till the fields, men work on the railway line and little crowds are to be seen on platforms of stations as the train goes through. In Russia, however, there are evident signs of illness and underfeeding to be seen in most crowds that one looks at. But children

(1) For list of institutions, etc., towns, villages, and chief political and Trade Union representative men and women, see Page 149.



look better than adults. The official estimate supplied to the delegation by Dr. Semasko, People's Commissar for Public Health, was that in the towns in January of this year only 50 per cent. of the food required was supplied. The clothing of most people is very shabby indeed; quite ragged clothing is often seen, and boots and shoes are very bad. Very few boots, indeed, are not obviously patched and repatched, many are past this repair, while the ordinary Russian footwear of bark or felt looks very defective when much worn. At all Russian stations soldiers—mostly dressed in faded khaki-like uniforms—were conspicuous, as well as railway officials in their old uniforms.

There is no doubt that the average Russian in the towns is underfed, badly clothed and badly shod. Peasants, however, are much better off, and those we saw were sufficiently fed. Ailing and sick children are seen only rarely. On the average, children are better off than adults in Russia. The standard of nutrition of children, however, is not good judged by Western standards, children seen at a good open-air "colony" school on the outskirts of Petrograd, for instance, having the general standard of nutrition of London children in an average poor district. The Russian Child Saving League estimate that a child receives only enough food for 18 or 19 days in each month—roughly about two-thirds of the supply needed. Few town children over one year receive milk unless purchased specially at open market rates which are quite out of reach of the average working man or woman. The deficiencies in diet are above all in quantity, and then in milk, fats, green vegetables and albuminous foods.

### HOUSING

Most Russian houses, except in the large towns, are of wood, and in the villages often house a very large number of inmates. The houses seen in the villages were of fairly good type, but the general sanitary conditions remain "exceedingly bad."<sup>1</sup> There is no acute shortage of houses in the villages, and during the last year there has been an increase in the amount of new building. In the towns "the sanitary conditions of houses are exceedingly unsatisfactory,"<sup>2</sup> but with the requisition of all private houses and the new distribution of housing accommodation among the population, the evils of overcrowding are now less. There is ample accommodation in Petrograd, the population of which is reduced from an estimate of about 2,000,000 to about 800,000; but Moscow is overcrowded. The lack of fuel for warming houses in Moscow and Petrograd has resulted in the destruction by frost of water and sanitary pipes on a large scale, and the water carriage of sewage is consequently in abeyance in a large proportion of all buildings.

### INDUSTRIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE

Turning now to the general conditions of industrial and political life, there can be no question of the sweeping character of the Russian Revolution. It has effected in the towns of Russia not only a change of political power, but a social transformation. The richer classes have been dispossessed of their

(<sup>1</sup>) *Vide* Report of Commissariat of Public Health. Appendix XXI. Page 141.

(<sup>2</sup>) *Ibid.*

houses and other property; the control of large scale industry has passed out of the hands of those who were formerly at the head of it. Large masses of the town population are now enjoying a share of the available national wealth (including house accommodation) greater than they enjoyed before; and new possibilities of life and culture are opening out before them; and this is true in a very special degree of the child population.

Social equalisation is, indeed, far from complete. There are certain classes which do better than others—*e.g.*, the soldiers, those doing specially heavy manual work, and so-called “responsible workers” in the Central Government departments; persons who are making money by speculation—*i.e.*, private dealing of any kind, but especially the sale of “controlled” articles illegally at market prices; and persons who are still able to sell valuable property which they possessed before the Revolution. Large numbers obtain special privileges, and some make fortunes. But when all is said, the material advantages enjoyed by the “new bourgeoisie” over and above the rest of the population are extremely small when compared with the advantages enjoyed by the propertied classes in every capitalist country. Broadly speaking, a single standard of living has been established. The glaring inequalities of fortune which form so great a scandal in capitalist countries and which are maintained even in distressed countries such as Austria and Poland; the striking difference in economic position between the rich and the poor; these things no longer exist in Russia.

This equalisation applies to education and entertainment as well as to food, housing and clothing. Opportunities of education are now open in the towns to large numbers of children and adults, from the elementary stages up to the University. In connection with the theatre, music, painting and sculpture, sports and physical development, means of pleasure and cultivation have been given to the workers on a scale unknown in earlier days. The greater part of the tickets in the principal theatres which formerly the poor never dreamed of entering, are now allotted to the various Trade Unions for distribution to their members at low fixed prices.

We have been much struck by the enlightened policy of the Soviet Government in the matter of child life. It has consciously adopted, and is practically enforcing, the principle to which lip service has so often been rendered—that at any given time the life of the rising generation is of greater moment to the State than the lives of the adult population, and that consequently the children’s claim upon all the physical and intellectual resources of the State must be satisfied before any other. The utilisation of the houses of the rich for “children’s colonies” (which take the place of the elementary schools during the summer) is one of the most striking illustrations of this principle.

Great efforts have been made for the economic reconstruction of the country, which is a matter of life and death for Russia. The Red Army, before the recent Polish attack, had been partially transformed into a Labour Army,

and arrangements had been made for mobilising civilian labour for works of immediate necessity; large new transport and electrification schemes had been initiated. Voluntary and unpaid labour on Saturday afternoons for purposes of reconstruction (the "Subbotnik," as it is called)—carried out, it is true, mainly by Communists, and partly to be regarded as a means of educating the public—has become one of the regular features of town life. The idea of the duty of all citizens to take part in reconstructive work for the State is being inculcated to a degree unknown elsewhere. A great campaign of popular propaganda has been inaugurated for this purpose, by means of the press, posters, notices and "propaganda trains."

These achievements of the Soviet Government represent, we are aware, only one side of the picture, but as Socialists we feel that they should be emphasised at the outset. We must state, on the other hand, our conviction that these achievements have been bought at a very heavy price. We allude not merely to the violence which accompanied the Revolution—the exact extent of which we have not investigated—but to the methods of Government which are still believed by the dominant party to be necessary. We leave open, for the present, the question as to whether these methods were or were not "inevitable." We confine ourselves simply to the state of affairs which exists.

Personal freedom, together with freedom of speech and of propaganda (including newspapers, the issue of election literature, and the holding of meetings), is severely repressed in the case of all those whose activities are supposed to threaten the Soviet régime. The means now used are far less severe than those used when foreign invasion, civil war and internal conspiracy were at their height—"the Terror," as they are called by Communists themselves. But "the Terror" has left its traces behind it, in the form of a pervading fear which is expressed on all hands—a fear sometimes more vague and sometimes more definite, that any expression of opinion adverse to the dominant party will be treated as "counter-revolutionary," and will lead to imprisonment or some kind of penalisation. This fear is kept alive by the fact that arrests constantly take place for alleged political offences. The definition of such offences is dangerously wide, closely resembling, in fact, the definitions adopted in our own Defence of the Realm Act, and the numerous Orders made under it. The fear above alluded to is evoked especially by the Extraordinary Commission, a body independent of the ordinary courts, acting upon no definite code of law, and controlled by a "collegium" consisting of members of the Communist Party.

The main reason given for these methods of Government is the dangerous situation created by foreign attacks, and the maintenance and encouragement of internal conspiracy by foreign agents. An overwhelmingly "strong" Government is thought to be necessary, because the mass of the people, though passively supporting the Soviet Government, are not yet sufficiently "conscious" to be immune from counter-revolutionary influences.



All possible means are used to secure the dominance of the Communist Party in the elections to Soviets. The actual Congresses of Soviets are large and unwieldy bodies, and the power tends to be concentrated in the hands of Executive Committees and Præsidiums. Elections become less frequent and more formal, and the party aims by means of organised groups at controlling every department and every institution of the national life.

The dominance of the Communist Party is not only accepted in practice, but defended as something which, though not in the written constitution, is an essential part of the working of Soviet institutions under the present transitory conditions. The right of bearing arms, possessed by members of the Party, is based on this idea. The counterpart is to be found in the onerous and dangerous obligations which attach to membership.

The report of the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party, held on March 29 to April 4, 1920, is concerned with State policy in its widest significance, and gives decisions which members of the delegation have seen already carried into effect in Russia in June, 1920.

The second paragraph of the report of the Ninth Communist Congress deals with "The Question of Organisation" and lays it down that "it is the business of the party to explain to every one of its members that at the present moment when the Russian Communist Party is responsible for the economic life of the country, the most inconspicuous and roughest work in the economic sphere is one of the greatest importance, and is to be considered responsible party work."

The sentence quoted is typical of the finer side of the Communist Party attitude to what they consider their duties and responsibilities.

Another matter to which attention must be drawn is that centralisation and Government control are on the increase in other departments of life than those already mentioned.

Labour-power is dealt with more and more on disciplinary principles. The Trade Unions are increasingly controlled by centralised "Councils of Trade Unions," which are more amenable to the influence of the Supreme Council of National Economy. The Co-operative Movement, instead of being an institution for self-help on the part of certain sections of the community, has become a definite part of the State machinery.

As to the country population of Russia, it has not been won over to Socialism, or to anything more than a passive acceptance of the Soviet régime. The peasants are supporters of the Revolution, on the ground that it has placed the great estates in their hands. But the nationalisation or socialisation of the land has not been achieved except in name. Communistic methods of agriculture are being introduced here and there, but have made little headway.

The methods of rule and Government as here outlined are severely criticised by the Social Revolutionaries, by the Mensheviks and by Prince Kropotkin in the memorandum he has submitted.<sup>1</sup>

It now remains to consider how the Government of Russia is tackling the practical problems of its foreign relations, and of its own plan of internal reconstruction.

### *FOREIGN POLICY AND MILITARISM*

The British Labour Delegation has already unanimously recorded its emphatic opinion of the criminal folly of the policy of intervention, non-recognition and blockade hitherto pursued by our own and other Governments of the Entente group.<sup>2</sup> In this declaration we have called attention to the danger of the militarisation of Russia.

The Allied policy which has made this militarisation not only necessary but inevitable from the standpoint of the Government of Russia defending itself against attack from without, has also pushed Russia in the direction of expansion towards Persia and the East. When questioned on that aspect of Russian policy the Commissar for Foreign Affairs—M. Chicherin—said that if England and France attacked them (through Poland or otherwise) “their hands were free in the East.”

The danger of the creation of a Russian militarist spirit, bitterly hostile to this country, is a real one, for which we have to thank the Governments of Lloyd George, Clemenceau and Millerand.<sup>3</sup> We are of opinion, however, that the Russian Government, while hoping for Social Revolution elsewhere, does not intend to attempt to carry this out by force of its armies, and that it will be possible to make a durable peace with it on a basis of mutual non-intervention in internal affairs. We consider that it has rendered, by its publications of the Secret Treaties, a great service to democratic and open diplomacy. By its repeated offers to negotiate on reasonable terms, it has shown a genuine will to peace. It has shown in particular every disposition to make peace with the Border States in the West (Finland and Poland). Arrangements have been concluded already with Georgia, Latvia, Esthonia and Lithuania, the Republic of Azerbaijan has entered into a federative alliance with Russia, and the status and relationship of a Far Eastern Republic, stretching from a line east of Lake Baikal to the coast of the China Sea, is now being discussed in Moscow. The Russian Government has thus shown that it has renounced the Imperialist policy of Tsarist Russia, and is ready to deal with the difficult problem of nationalities on a basis of Justice. It should be realised that whatever the theoretical views of certain Communist leaders may be on the desirability of a world revolution, the practical administrative problems which confront them are of such a nature as to demand the last ounce of their energy, and the last fraction of their organising capacity.<sup>4</sup>

(1) *Vide* Appendices VI, VII, VIII, and IX. Pages 73 to 92.

(2) *Vide* Second Interim Report. Page 30.

(3) *Vide* Appendix XVI. Page 122.

(4) *Vide* Appendix XVII. Page 126.

## THE LAND AND THE PEASANTS<sup>1</sup>

The most important and urgent of Russia's practical problems is that of the productivity of the land, and the relationship of the town and the peasant populations.

The total population of Russia and Siberia within its present frontiers is estimated at 125,000,000, of whom at least 90,000,000 are peasants. While the towns are preponderant in political power, they are dependent for their food on the peasants. At present the peasants support—or at least do not oppose—the Bolshevik government for at least two reasons:—(1) The revolution has given them more land, which they wish to keep; and (2) their experience of the rule of Denikin, Koltchak and other counter-revolutionaries has made them see that Bolshevik rule is less severe.

By decree all land is nationalised, and in practice the large estates have been expropriated and the holdings of the richer peasants broken up. The "Squire's Land" in the villages, and undeveloped land, has been added to the poorer peasants' holdings. When the delegation interviewed M. Sereda, Commissar for Agriculture, he stated that as long as the peasant works his land he holds it, and while the right of inheritance is stated not to exist, the question of the use of the land in case of death is settled by the peasants of the village; and while land cannot be sold or willed away, "if the family undertake to work the land, then there will be no interference with them."

The practical difficulties of getting supplies from the peasants are evidently very great and similar to those existent all over Europe at the present time.

According to Russian Law, corn has to be delivered to the Government on payment of certain very low fixed prices, but it is the intention of the Government to pay not in money but in kind. At present, however, there is little which can be given in exchange, and the peasant is consequently resistant, as paper money is worth very little and he cannot obtain the manufactured goods which he needs. Nevertheless, the amount of corn collected is increasing. M. Lenin, in an interview, stated that the amount had risen as follows:—

|               |    |    |    |    |                   |
|---------------|----|----|----|----|-------------------|
| 1918          | .. | .. | .. | .. | 30,000,000 poods  |
| 1919          | .. | .. | .. | .. | 110,000,000 poods |
| 1920 (to May) | .. | .. | .. | .. | 175,000,000 poods |

M. Sereda pointed out the difficulties of his department as follows:—

(1) Fall in production due to lack of manures, lack of machinery, deterioration of stock, lowered physique of workers due to lack of proper food. The decrease in productivity is estimated at 30 % to 40 %.

(2) Want of technical experts—*e.g.*, 35,000 land surveyors are required, and they have only 4,000.

(<sup>1</sup>) *Vide* Appendix XIX. \* Page 130.



Nevertheless, M. Sereda stated that the policy of developing state farms and encouraging the Agricultural Communes and Artels (different types of co-operative farms) in every way, was being carried out. In 1918, there were 242 Co-operative farms, in November, 1919, there were 6,366, the areas being 23,509 and 650,000 desiatins respectively. The farms employed in 1918 32,199 persons, and 1919, 420,904 persons. Certain so-called "Soviet" farms are being worked to supply individual factories.

M. Sereda pointed out the importance of Russia to the world by giving certain figures of supply for Russia:—

|                           |    |    |    |    | <i>Proportion for Russia</i> |
|---------------------------|----|----|----|----|------------------------------|
| World's supply of cereals | .. | .. |    |    | 79 %                         |
| Rye                       | .. | .. | .. | .. | 48 %                         |
| Hemp and Flax             | .. | .. | .. | .. | 70 %                         |

M. Sereda considered that the transition from individual farming to socialised agriculture could only come about by peaceful voluntary co-operation and not by violence, and that consent would have to be won by studying the psychology of the people. German agricultural experts were coming to assist them, and they desired the delegation to extend a similar invitation to English agricultural experts also.

As well as the corn which the peasants deliver to the Government, they are also called on to sell other products up to a fixed proportion and at a fixed price. Above this proportion private trade in agricultural products is allowed, and in the market at Moscow milk, potatoes, green vegetables, carrots, eggs, pork and other foods were on sale. Bread was obtainable also at 400 roubles the pound, a very large increase on the ration price of two roubles. The great discrepancy between the fixed government prices and the open market prices is a cause of great dissatisfaction to the peasants, and an incitement to illicit trade.

For a long time to come, it is clear that Russia must be dependent for its food supply on arrangements made with what in practice is a population of peasant proprietors. In spite of great efforts, including the use of force where methods of persuasion fail, the necessary amount of food is not obtained, as the food statistics show. Nor are things likely to improve in this respect, unless the Government are able to pay something more than paper, which by the tremendous inflation of the currency become every day less and less valuable. An English pound changed at the Commissariat of Finance realised 4,800 roubles, while the price in the open market was 10,000 or over. And it is remarkable that at this higher rate of exchange prices were roughly comparable with those in Western Europe. But with the inflation of the currency the value of the rouble drops, and prices rise.

The peasant is allowed and expected to feed himself and his family, also his stock, off his land before giving up any product to the Government, and except in districts like the Nijni-Novgorod government, he is enabled to do so. Before the Government makes its demands, an allowance is made for depreciation of productivity due to absence of manures, machinery and also for seed. Most peasants seen were sufficiently fed; but their clothing and boots were deplorable, and all were in need of agricultural implements and machinery.

## NATIONALISATION OF INDUSTRY

The large industries of Russia, the coal, iron, gold and platinum mines, the petroleum wells, the locomotive and machine works, metal industries generally, the textile industry, the railways, larger shipping and some smaller industries such as salt and cement have been nationalised. Some smaller industries, such as the Trezor works at Petrograd making Army Equipment, and shipping up to 30 horse-power on the Volga, have been left in private hands. But despite a big programme of reconstruction the blockade and the fight against Koltchak, Denikin and the other counter-revolutionary forces have prevented anything more than the effort to maintain industry. The retail shops have also been nationalised, and so has banking. In the case of the shops, this has led in practice to the closing of shops, but not to the stoppage of retail trade. Banking, on the other hand, is being converted into a central book-keeping department of the State.<sup>1</sup> The production of the country is being dealt with according to an "Economic Plan"<sup>2</sup> largely under the direction of the Supreme Council of National Economy.

M. Milutin, the assistant of the Commissar in this department (M. Rekoff), explained to the delegation that "while the war is on we cannot extend industry, we can only maintain it." The economic plan of the development of Russia is based upon a very comprehensive survey of the need of the country, but is governed in its practical application by two main factors:—(1) the restrictions on external trade, and (2) the Polish offensive.

The economic plan contemplates 50 productive departments, a financial department, and a department to co-ordinate the work of local economic councils which exist in different towns, in the different governments and in larger areas (oblasts) embracing more than one government. Each department is controlled by a director or a Collegium of three or five members, and the whole of the Supreme Economic Council is controlled by a Præsidium of eleven members nominated by the Central Executive Committee of the Trade Unions, and confirmed by the Council of People's Commissars.

(1) The publications and reports of the Russian Commissariat of Finance are now being translated and considered and will be reported on later. The financial theory of the Soviet Government aims to do away with the need for money.

(2) *Vide* Report Ninth Congress of Communist Party. Appendix I. Page 32.

The functions of the Supreme Economic Council are:—(1) Industry; (2) the financing of Industry and the parcelling of raw materials. There are 5,000 nationalised enterprises, of which 2,500 are grouped into 179 trusts and directed by the Council itself; 70% of these enterprises are working. 2,500 enterprises are managed by local Economic Councils forming part of the Provincial (Gubernia) organisation, but directly responsible to the Supreme Economic Council. The Supreme Economic Council has the power of veto over the members proposed for appointment to the local Economic Councils. Food, fuel, raw material of industry and transport, and material for education are all supplied by the Supreme Council of National Economy. In the case of bread, for instance, a special commission representing the Food Commissariat, the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets and the Supreme Economic Council fixes the amounts of food for different categories of workers, and then distributes the bread available according to the reported population of each district. The work of the Council is thus highly centralised; and M. Milutin explained that in connection with the nationalisation of industry "the main line of policy is to establish centralised organisations."

The difficulties of the transition period from the condition of chaos which existed at the beginning of the revolutionary period to the present day, are well exemplified in the Report of 'Two Years' Dictatorship in the Metal Industry of Petrograd by M. N. J. Antonof, President of the Metal Section of the Council of National Economy of Petrograd.<sup>1</sup> The Trade Unions of Russia have all grown up within the last few years, and their members in consequence have not had a training in administrative and practical affairs like the Trade Unions in this country. In February, 1917, there were only three Trade Unions in Russia with a membership of 1,385. At the beginning of the revolution some workers broke up the machinery with hammers, and took pieces home to their own houses; in the majority of workshops and factories the technical staff managers, engineers and clerks, were thought to be hostile to the revolution and were turned out. The further revolution compelled the originally independent Factory Committees and Trade Unions to coalesce, the Factory Committees remaining the local organ of workers' control. Later on control passed to a bureau organised by the Metal Trades section of the Economic Council. Still later factory administration Collegiums were organised, consisting of two-thirds representatives of the Council of National Economy, and one-third of factory workers. These Collegiums have now been replaced (Ninth Communist Congress Report) by one-man management.

Various methods have been tried to stimulate production which had fallen to "almost a catastrophe" owing to (1) the want of qualified workers and technicians; (2) weak labour discipline of the workmen; and (3) the abolition of piece-work.

In the reintroduction of the system of piece-work in 1919, a more ambitious programme of work was attempted (January-June, 1919), and the production

(<sup>1</sup>) *Vide* Appendix XI. Page 94.



was increased. Sea transports, river steamers, submarines, torpedo boats, barges and trawlers were made or repaired; 23 locomotives made and 41 repaired, as well as 466 waggons made and 3,313 repaired.

The difficulties of the situation were complicated by the Yudenitch attack on Petrograd. The difference between estimate and accomplishment is shown below:—

|                    | ESTIMATE    | ACHIEVEMENT |
|--------------------|-------------|-------------|
| Fuel (in poods)    | 1,225,806   | 81,758      |
| Workmen (employed) | 36,286      | 14,670      |
| Wages (in roubles) | 106,593,000 | 114,191,000 |

In 1919 the Metal Industries of Petrograd district were grouped into seven trusts, viz., motor-cars (eight factories), aeroplanes (eight factories), medium-sized machinery (eight factories), copper industry (four metal works), heavy machine industry, mass fabrication trust (eight factories), and apparatus of precision and clock trust (thirteen factories and shops).

Only in May, 1920, however, was an inventory of metal and metal wares begun. The Metal Section looks forward to the creation of a "socialistic economy" when improvement in the fuel situation takes place after the war.

Much the same story can be told of the Textile Mills and also of other less important organisations. Coal getting operations are just beginning in the Don basin; and the reconquest of the Caspian Sea gives access to the oil of Baku which is being sent up the River Volga in increasing quantity, vivifying the shipping and the industry on the banks of that mighty highway of Russia's economic life.

Members of the delegation saw how the life at Astrakhan and its fishing industry was becoming busy and active, and how the salt industry at Vladimirovka had restarted (June, 1920) with the arrival of the naphtha of Baku. But while the war continues all attention needs to be concentrated upon it, and the economic rebuilding of Russia has to be deferred.

### *THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT*

The great change in the organisation of the Co-operative societies (already referred to) took place in April, 1920, and the Chairman (M. Lejava) is already (interview, June, 2, 1920) able to look forward to the handing over of the functions of the Food Commissariat to the Central Organisation of the Co-operative (the Centrosious). At present the Centrosious controls both certain productive enterprises and distribution. All citizens of whatever class are members of Co-operative societies. The workers are being educated in the principles of co-operation as laid down by Robert Owen. In its dealings with commodities, the Centrosious carries out the orders of the Supreme Economic

Council with regard to the distribution of State monopolised articles, and works according to the tariffs and categories laid down. The monopolised articles are wheat, bread, coal, sugar, textiles, fur, clothing and timber. Other goods are not monopolised, but the Centrosioius, while working here as a voluntary organisation, adopts in practice the general economic plan as a guide and distributes goods according to the need for efficient workers, and not according to capacity for payment.

The Centrosioius has a representative on the Supreme Economic Council, and the Chairman has the right to attend meetings of the People's Commissars although without power to vote.<sup>1</sup>

## LABOUR

All matters directly affecting Labour are the concern of the Commissariat of Labour, which is governed by a Commissar and a board of two others, all of whom are nominated by the Central Executive Committee of the Trade Unions and appointed by the Council of People's Commissars. There are about 500 local departments in different districts and governments. The departments of the Commissariat are:—

- (1) Registration and Distribution of Labour;
- (2) Fixing of Rates of Wages;
- (3) Protection of Labour;
- (4) Statistics;
- (5) Museum of Labour;

with subsidiary departments dealing with finance, organisation and internal arrangement of the Commissariat.

Labour Exchanges, of which there are 420 with 260 branches, are now part of the Labour Department of the State, and they distribute labour for all purposes. Wages and hours of labour are fixed in accordance with the economic conditions of the country, and in practice this is done by the Central Executive Committee of the Trade Unions. During the war it has been necessary to allow the employment of children and young persons; but it is hoped to withdraw all persons up to 16 years of age from industry at an early date. Overtime is encouraged in factories and workshops, and double employment is undertaken. Children of 16 are not allowed to work more than six hours a day. All hours over eight are paid as overtime, and the workshop votes on the number of hours to be worked overtime. Women work the same hours as men, but for eight weeks before and eight weeks after confinement they are excused from work and receive full pay.

An average wage for a normal month's work varies from 1,200 to 4,500 roubles according to skill. Those out of work receive the total unskilled wages, whether they are skilled or unskilled, plus dinners and ration card entitling

(1) *Vide* Interview with the Centrosioius, Appendix XII. Page 104.

them to purchase goods at fixed prices. Those unemployed must accept suitable work if offered, under penalty of forfeiting their pay. Specialists and technicians receive very much higher rates of pay.<sup>1</sup> At the present time there can be very little unemployment in Russia, although exact figures are lacking. The difficulty is to prevent men leaving the factories and workshops and going to the country. Membership of Trade Unions is compulsory, and embraces all persons without exception engaged in an industry or institution. A Trade Union in a factory includes technical staff, clerks, engineers, skilled and unskilled workers. A Trade Union in a hospital includes orderlies, charwomen, stokers, dispensers, nurses, clerks and doctors. Labour is also compulsory for all able-bodied men and women of 18 years and over up to 50.

The difficulties of the situation were seen by the delegation in the ragged and half-starved condition of the workers at Sormova and Putiloff works. They were drawn forcible attention to by a worker from the Kolomna works, who stated that desertions from the works were frequent, and that deserters were arrested by soldiers and brought from the villages. The workers at Kolomna were stated to receive about 4,000 roubles a month or 48,000 a year, while the living of an ordinary peasant reckoned at ordinary market prices was valued at three and a-half million roubles a year. Also, the peasants are willing to employ men at much higher money wages than they can get in the factories and workshops, plus a plentiful supply of food which the town worker does not get.

M. Karl Radek, Secretary of the Third International, says to the workers:—"No surprise is entertained at your having fled to the villages to escape starvation, but the entire country is doomed to ruin and famine unless you return to town."

The direction in which interesting developments of Trade Union activity may occur is seen in the account of the visit paid to Chatura Electricity Works, where peat is used as a source of power.<sup>2</sup> Here the workers, who are peasants, and who work only two and a-half months a year, are paid much higher wages than usual, the money wage amounting to from 15,000 to 20,000 roubles a month plus a substantial payment in kind of very good rations. 105 people here had handled 70,000,000 poods of peat, while at another works working on the normal system and at normal rates of pay, 283 people had only handled 6,000,000 poods. Another interesting experiment is at Razan, and is being carried out by members of the Building Trade Union who had been given 2,500 acres of land and undertaken to develop a community; they were working directly under the Supreme Council of National Economy.<sup>3</sup> 1,150 people are employed, and the community has its own communal kitchen, its own schools and library, and crèches for the young children. The productive departments

(1) *I*vide Appendix X. Page 93.

(2) *I*vide Appendix XIII. Pages 110 and 111.

(3) *I*vide Appendix XIII. Pages 112, 113 and 114.



of the colony are a carpenter's shop, a tin-plate shop, an engine-shop, a flour mill and a railway with an engine of its own. This community is undoubtedly far more favourably situated than the ordinary workers of Moscow or Petrograd, and their life cannot be compared with the stress and strain of the normal lot. Amongst other advantages, it enjoys that of being in the country and being able to grow its own food. The rations of the community were distinctly good. Work along these community lines appears to be in the line of natural development of the Russian workers' psychology, which, in work, always expressed itself before the revolution in the Artel. (A primitive method of co-operation.)

Another interesting experiment is that of the Russian American Tool Shop, created in Moscow by 70 men deported from the United States, a large number of whom, of course, spoke English, and who had had experience of American organisation of industry. The men were working twelve hours a day and had a premium system by which it was possible for a worker to earn 100 to 200 per cent. more than the rate. A special laundry and cook-house was attached to the shop, and all the workers, men and women, got not only dinner but supper.<sup>1</sup>

The communist view of the Trade Unions is expressed in the report of the interview with M. Schmidt already given, and in "The Trade Unions in Soviet Russia," by A. Losovski (Moscow, April, 1920). The present defects of organisation are recognised, particularly the impossibility of carrying out completely the proposed "system of the State Regulation of Wages," but it has one very great virtue, "it is the child and creature of the Revolution." (p. 46.) It is stated that "there is not a branch of state activity (military, food, sanitary, economic, technical, cultural, etc.) in which the Russian Trade Unions are not engaged." "Revolutionary activity, whole-hearted loyalty to the cause of the Revolution, the clear and firm position in the struggle with the bourgeoisie, the stern and ruthless hostility to the very idea of the co-operation of classes, the fearless destruction of old relations and fetishes, are things which the Russian Trade Unions may teach the workers of other countries." The critics of the present form of Trade Union point out<sup>2</sup> the need for "independent class organisation" in opposition to the tendency of Government policy being framed to suit the preponderant mass of the peasants. Also, that the need of Russia for foreign capital, and "the adaptation of Russian private capital" with the "extreme growth of private small and home industry" creates now "numbers of hired workers standing in need of defence of their interests by the Trade Unions." Another reason for the maintenance of independent unions is to resist "compulsory" measures and "bureaucratisation" by the Soviet authorities, and they must be able "to defend before the Government the interests of the proletariat, independently of the views of the Government itself." The critics look to improvement in wages, reform of the loans system, freedom of election of Boards of Administration and Works Committees, and political reforms to secure greater freedom generally.

(1) *Vide* Appendix XIII. Page 114.

(2) *Vide* Appendix VII. Page 80.

## WOMEN AND THE FAMILY

The considerations that apply to the labour of men in Russia apply also generally to that of women. But special legislation aims to secure a period of relief from work at full pay for eight weeks before and eight weeks after a confinement, and nursing mothers up to one year from the birth of their children are supplied with extra rations and exemption from certain kinds of work. How far these excellent prescriptions are carried out in practice the delegation do not feel able to say.

All able-bodied women in Russia are now expected to work, and it is important to remember that in old Russia the women of the working classes habitually went out to work and, as a rule, left their children locked up in their rooms. Now they can dispose of their children in four ways:—

- (a) By looking after the children themselves.
- (b) By sending them only to the mid-day meal at the Children's Dining-rooms.
- (c) By sending them to kindergartens or crèches, where they are taken care of the whole of the day.
- (d) By placing them in the children's communities where they are looked after, fed, clothed and housed by the Soviets.

The theory of the Communist Party that every soul must give a labour contribution to the community carries with it the implication that the individual must be freed from the economic burden of the family. Both men and women are paid on a basis of individual wage. The State, therefore, must come forward and provide for the economic needs of the child; it is the concern not only of parents, but of *every* adult citizen to see that all the children are well cared for; and through the public purse all contribute to their upkeep.

It is impossible at this stage to express an opinion upon the effects of this great change in the economic relationship of parents and children. We are of the opinion that while it will undoubtedly modify the lives of children in the towns, it will not make much impression upon the great mass of the children spread over the peasant population.

There are very few, if any, sex barriers to work in Soviet Russia; the majority of teachers are women, as in Great Britain; about half the doctors are women also, and women are found in every department of life. Women serve in the army, and some are officers. The head of the Police of Petrograd is Madame Ravitch, and she has all the men as well as a large staff of women under her. The heads of the Child Welfare Departments of Petrograd and Moscow are both women.

Women also are elected to the Soviets and take part in Trade Union work, although in small numbers. Women are especially enlisted by the Medical Department to help in the sanitary and cleanliness work of the local Soviets.

## *COMMUNIST PARTY WOMEN'S DEPARTMENT*

The Communist Party has organised a women's department. In structure, it is like our women's section of the Labour Party. It has its committee working in conjunction with the Central Committee of the Party, and it has its sections in connection with every branch and every district throughout the country.

The function of the Women's Department is to develop women for administrative work, to educate them in all branches of the Government's activities. They organise the mothers of the children to attend crèches and children's dining-rooms. They prepare rotas so that one or two mothers are in attendance in the dining-rooms to see that the staff perform their duties adequately. They hold meetings to discuss all political and economic questions, as well as matters relating to health. Innessa Armand (known as Innessa), the Head of this Department in Moscow, was especially emphatic about the question of prostitution. The old regime left a very large heritage of prostitution. It has not yet disappeared, although the change in the economic system is hastening its disappearance. There is a great deal of venereal disease, however. Innessa Armand stated that there is no longer the economic incentive to prostitution. They try to make the old prostitutes engage in useful work and by educational methods they are preventing the making of new prostitutes. Girls of 16 start work and are expected to work at least six hours a day.

The State has abolished all distinction between legitimate and illegitimate children. They have now a system of registration of births of all children. The father's name is always registered as well as that of the mother. There is now no attempt on the part of the father to conceal parentage. In old Russia there was no civil marriage, only the Church marriage, and a very large number of people lived together without marriage. They called this agreement to live together a "Civil Contract," but there was no registration. Now, while it is still true that some people live together without marriage, as a rule they prefer to be legally married. Divorce is by mutual consent, and if one party disagrees or objects a delay of three months is imposed. The Department has not yet had time to establish the necessary statistical machinery, but it was given as a considered opinion by Innessa that the relationship between parents and children, when not depending upon an economic tie, is more likely to depend upon the bond of love. The story that women are "nationalised" in Russia is a stupid libel without foundation in fact.

## *TRANSPORT*

A matter of importance as grave as that of agriculture to the country as a whole, is the question of the transport of commodities from one part of Russia and Siberia to another. Food may be abundant in Siberia, but Petrograd will starve if the trains and steamers do not go. The importance of this problem is emphasised strongly in the Report of the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party. And while the delegation was in Russia they were enabled to see the progress which is being made.



The operations of the army at the Polish front are supported by an adequate railway system. Trains are running from Petrograd to Moscow, and Moscow to Nijni-Novgorod, to Saratov, to Vladikavkaz and Baku. The railway to Siberia is open, and used for military purposes. Members of the delegation themselves travelled from the Esthonian frontier to Nijni-Novgorod and voyaged down the Volga from Nijni-Novgorod to Astrakhan. A large part of the journey was in company with M. B. M. Sverdlov—the acting Minister of Ways and Communications—who is himself largely responsible for the improvement of transport, and an enthusiastic advocate of one-man management and personal responsibility. The transport system is improving, many routes of trade have been repaired after destruction caused by war, and many bridges rebuilt and repaired. The programme of railway reconstruction laid down for accomplishment has not only been carried out, but its achievement exceeded. At least 4,000 locomotives are now working in Russia, and they will reach 6,000 before long. Wagons exist already in considerable numbers, and many evidences of repair work were seen en route in sidings and at stations passed in travelling. The discipline of the transport service is severe; fines, imprisonment and curtailment of privileges are inflicted for many offences, and drunkenness on the railway on the part of an official (alcohol is, of course, prohibited throughout Russia) is punished with death by shooting.

Being parts of the lines of communication, men in the railway service are deemed of equal importance with members of the Red Army, and have to undergo military discipline and receive rations on the same scale as the Red Army.

The reconquest of the Caspian Sea has made the oil of Baku available for river and railway service, and opened up communication with Turkestan and with Persia. There is little doubt that in the near future a substantial improvement in the situation will be registered.

### *PUBLIC HEALTH*

A matter which falls to be considered apart from other questions, although of fundamental importance, is that of Public Health. Health conditions in Russia are very bad, and are only mitigated by the unflagging work of the doctors and sanitary personnel. Since 1918 the country has been swept by great epidemics of typhus, of recurrent fever, of Spanish influenza and of cholera, while local outbreaks of smallpox and other diseases have occurred. The Russian Commissariat for Public Health states that a typhus epidemic broke out in the autumn of 1918 and lasted until the summer of 1919, the number of cases registered during eight months being 1,299,262, with a death-rate of from 8—10 %. This is presumably independent of an epidemic of recurrent fever at the same time. As registration is difficult in Russia, the total number of cases is probably much greater, as in the villages and country districts numerous persons must have escaped observation. The epidemic was universal, and practically no town or village in Russia escaped the infection. An unfortunate

feature of the epidemic was the high mortality of doctors; about 50 % of doctors in attendance on patients in hospitals actually succumbed to the disease. The effect of the shortage of doctors so produced has been lamentable, and at the time when Astrakhan was visited there was only one doctor for the whole of the area of the Astrakhan Government outside of the town itself. Typhus in Astrakhan Government had actually killed 14 % of the total number of doctors in the Provinces.

The measures taken against the spread of typhus—the great distributing agents of which are the railway lines—has been the controlling of traffic, and the establishment of control stations at fixed points on the line, and at important junctions. A sanitary campaign, in which women have been largely enlisted, has been carried out in many towns and villages. Severe measures are taken against culpably dirty people, and baths are called “Dr. Semasko’s Extraordinary Commission.” The effect of this campaign is shown in the figures for typhus cases of all-Russia (including Siberia) for the present year, which are as follows:—

|          |    |    |    |    |         |           |
|----------|----|----|----|----|---------|-----------|
| February | .. | .. | .. | .. | 389,859 | civilians |
| March    | .. | .. | .. | .. | 313,624 | „         |
| April    | .. | .. | .. | .. | 158,308 | „         |
| January  | .. | .. | .. | .. | 66,113  | army      |
| February | .. | .. | .. | .. | 75,978  | „         |
| March    | .. | .. | .. | .. | 57,251  | „         |
| April    | .. | .. | .. | .. | 16,505  | „         |

The rise of Army cases in February, 1920, coincides with the retreat of Denikin and re-infection from his troops. But great as the efforts of the medical staff have been, even elementary disinfection has, as a rule, been impossible. In hospitals visited in Moscow, and in towns and villages on the Volga there was no soap available for washing floors or bedding or patients’ clothing. The only disinfectant available in most cases was formalin, and that only in small quantities. As a rule, it was impossible to do more than tidy and sweep hospitals, and wash them with water without soap. Some hospitals visited were as clean as could be expected, others were dirty and even dangerously dirty. Home disinfection of the houses from which infectious cases were brought was impossible as a rule, and was only attempted in Petrograd (the Sanitary Brigade for Disinfection work is here under the command of Dr. Haffkine) and Moscow; in the country towns and villages it was not carried out. Nor was it possible to disinfect the clothing of the patients themselves. In 1918 there was also a cholera epidemic reaching the figure of 35,619 cases, and on June 14, 1920, there were 100 cholera cases in Moscow, and the menace of a new epidemic. There were only a small number of cases in the summer of 1919. Smallpox exists in Russia very widely disseminated, and 81,851 cases were registered from November 1, 1918, to July, 1919. At

the time of the visit of the delegation to Russia it was personally ascertained that there were cases in Petrograd, in Moscow and in Astrakhan. Much vaccination was carried out.

A severe epidemic of Spanish influenza also swept over the country in 1918. What the total mortality from these diseases has been, it is very difficult to estimate; but at the very lowest the mortality from typhus fever alone must amount to two or three hundred thousand. A large number of these deaths could have been prevented, had it been possible to check the spread of the fever by cleanliness, by washing with soap, and by disinfection. Soap, however, is a commodity for which Russia is dependent on the outer world, as she is also for disinfectants. In the deprivation of these two prime necessities of public health the Allied policy of the blockade stands condemned as the cause of many thousands of deaths.

When to the tale of typhus is added that of Spanish influenza, of cholera, of smallpox, and of other diseases, when it is realised that there are practically no drugs at all in Russia because of the blockade, that all hospital supplies are reduced to practically nothing, and that linen and blankets are lacking, the indictment of the blockade becomes blacker still. It should be realised that on the medical side of Russian life we are dealing with a question outside ordinary politics. Very few of the doctors are Communists, but they are Russians; they are as doctors professional humanitarians, they have worked to the utmost as their starved faces and haunted eyes tell plainly, but destroy lice and disease germs without soap and disinfectants they cannot. And thousands of lives have been sacrificed for want of these elementary medical necessities.

## *EDUCATION*

The Revolution in Russia has given a very great impetus to education, which had hardly begun in Russia before 1905, and which had progressed slowly up to 1917. The decrees on educational matters promulgated by the Government make all education free up to University grade, and it is also contemplated to supply free food and clothing to all young persons up to 16 years of age. A decree for the provision of maintenance up to 14 years of age was issued from the Commissariat of Education in July, 1919, and the decree extending the period to 16 at a later date. Progress has already been made in carrying the decrees into effect, and the Russian Educational Authorities estimate that 25 % of the child population are now in receipt of a normal education of the elementary type. This is probably an over-estimate, as in some places visited accommodation for only 10 % of the children existed; and also there is no method of ensuring compulsory attendance as in England, and children who do not wish to attend simply remain away. In some of the villages any education is of a very primitive description and confined to the winter months and to children between 8 and 13. It is estimated that 15 % or 20 % of the children are receiving some form of effective elementary education. The difficulties are those familiar



to educationists in this country—(a) want of teachers; (b) want of buildings suitable for school premises; (c) want of school furniture and of paper, pencils, books, and school apparatus.

Great efforts are being made, however, to meet these deficiencies. Special six-months' courses of training have been established for teachers; buildings taken over from the bourgeoisie are being adapted for schools, and arrangements are being made for import of necessary articles of furniture and equipment for school work. A campaign is being waged for the abolition of illiteracy; adult schools of an elementary nature for both men and women, and evening schools, are being created in increasing numbers. Special classes have been established in connection with the universities known as the "Workers' Faculty," with a view to preparing working men and women for university study.

But in the matter of provision of food for children, the Russian Education Authorities have been more successful. In the villages this provision is not required, but in the towns there are special "children's restaurants" in addition to the arrangements for feeding at the schools. There is no doubt that as a result of these arrangements the feeding of children is on a more satisfactory basis than that of adults.

The delegation visited schools in Petrograd, Moscow, and in towns and villages on the Volga, and found everywhere signs of the same general policy.

The Russian Educational Authorities are creating a large amount of boarding-school and open-air colony accommodation for children of school age, and a large number of crèches and kindergartens for children below school age. For the purposes of these schools expropriated houses in the towns and in the country are being used. Members of the delegation visited delightfully-situated schools in Petrograd and Moscow, and found that the children were being well and carefully looked after. Some of the schools were very well fitted up; others were more primitive. A small theatre was a usual feature of all schools, as the Educational Authorities lay great stress on dancing, singing, and artistic self-expression. Children from the towns are transferred in large numbers to the country for the summer to special "summer colonies," and several of these were visited, one on the banks of the Moskva river, in an aforesaid grand-ducal palace, was a very charming holiday home. The Soviet authorities estimate that they provide accommodation for 2,000,000 children in their boarding establishments and colonies.

An interesting feature of the schools was the attempt which is being made to link up ordinary education with the spirit of the workshop. The danger of education divorcing children from the proletarian atmosphere of factory and workshop life is being guarded against by special arrangements of the curriculum, to base it upon various forms of manual work. Religion is not allowed to be taught in the schools, nor are teachers allowed to take children to church, but there is no religious persecution, teachers and children individually are

free to go to church if they wish. It is significant in this connection that in April permission was granted to the authorities of the Mosque at Petrograd to commence the chanting of the Muezzins call to prayer, which had been up to that time forbidden. Ikons and religious observances are noticed in schools, offices, and private houses, very widely spread. Lessons on socialism are given in the schools, and communism is taught definitely. Photographs of Karl Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, Lunacharski, and others are frequently to be seen in the schools, as also revolutionary mottoes.

In the schools visited by members of the delegation the children were free and happy, and many evidences were seen of the marked natural artistic ability which seems to be one of the characteristics of the Russian people. The extension of the educational system to all Russian children, which will become possible as teachers, buildings and books and apparatus become available, will produce the greatest changes in a population spreading from the Baltic Sea to the east of Lake Baikal in Siberia, and from the Arctic Ocean to the Black Sea. Help in this great educational task is a form of service Russia may well accept from Western Europe and America, and one which helps to unite them in a real internationalism.

### CONCLUSION

Such, as far as we have been able to ascertain them, are the facts in broad outline. Various questions of great importance naturally suggest themselves—*e.g.*, whether the various measures taken by the Communist Party have or have not been necessary; whether the same results could have been brought about by milder means; whether any more democratic form of Government could not be established; and lastly, whether the Russian Revolution ought to serve as a model to other countries, and if so, in what respect. These are questions on which opinions differ widely, and we do not propose to deal with them. We only desire to point out, as essential to the understanding of the Russian Revolution, the extraordinary conditions under which it has been and is being carried through.

Russia is a vast country, potentially rich, but economically in a backward state. Her people consisted, before the Revolution, of peasant owners (the vast majority), a town proletariat, a small bourgeoisie, and a still smaller class of large capitalists, sharply distinguished from the rest of the population. Russian party strife has been marked by its extreme violence. The present leaders are men who have suffered every kind of oppression, and have been accustomed for years to take their lives in their hands.

With such conditions and such a history, Russia has been plunged into no less than six years of continuous and still continuing warfare. She has been blockaded and her communications with the outside world cut off. She has been invaded by foreign troops on all sides. More important still, the most desperate efforts have been made to foster conspiracy and civil war on her territory.

The economic collapse, and the measures for the restriction of liberty, are due at least as much to these causes—and the general exhaustion, suspicion and despair which they would have produced in any case—as to the tumults and mutual hatreds to which the Revolution itself has given rise.

Whether, under such conditions, Russia could be governed in a different way—whether, in particular, the ordinary processes of democracy could be expected to work—is a question on which we do not feel ourselves competent to pronounce. All we know is that no practical alternative, except a virtual return to autocracy, has been suggested to us; that a “strong” Government is the only type of Government which Russia has yet known; that the opponents of the Soviet Government when they were in power in 1917, exercised repression against the Communists.

Such are the conditions and peculiarities, the heated and revolutionary atmosphere, which must be taken into account in any criticism of the Russian Revolution, and still more in any attempt to apply its lessons to other countries.

The Russian Revolution has not had a fair chance. We cannot say whether, in normal conditions, this particular Socialist experiment would have been a success or a failure. The conditions have been such as would have rendered the task of social transformation extraordinarily difficult, whoever had attempted it and whatever had been the means adopted. We cannot forget that the responsibility for these conditions resulting from foreign interference rests not upon the revolutionaries of Russia, but upon the Capitalist Governments of other countries, including our own.

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*Chairman of Delegation.*

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A. A. PURCELL

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The report has been submitted to and also endorsed by Mr. R. C. Wallhead and Mr. Clifford Allen, who formed an independent delegation to Russia on behalf of the Independent Labour Party.

*London, July, 1920.*



## *FIRST INTERIM REPORT*

We have been profoundly impressed by the effects of the policy of intervention and blockade upon the Russian people. This policy has been pursued by various foreign Governments since 1918, and under various forms, direct and indirect, it is still being pursued to-day. It is at the root of the worst evils which are afflicting Russia at the present time.

While the stoppage of exports from Russia is injurious to the world outside, the stoppage of imports is disastrous to the interior economy of Russia herself.

The problem of food exceeds all others in immediate importance. We are appalled by the conditions of virtual famine under which the whole urban population—the manual and the intellectual workers alike—are living.

A particularly serious effect of the blockade policy has been the cutting off of soap and of medical supplies. Epidemics of typhus fever and of recurrent fever have swept over the whole country. It is true that a great and efficient sanitary organisation has been created by the Commissariat of Public Health. The movement on railway lines is controlled by regulation, and the provision of numerous observation, diagnosis, and disinfection stations. Every train in Siberia and European Russia has to be provided with a special coach for the use of suspicious or actual cases of illness. Large numbers of hospitals have been created both in Siberia and Russia. A great sanitary propaganda has been carried out, through Soviets and trade unions, in both towns and villages, and these epidemics are now controlled. In addition, compulsory vaccination has been carried out over the whole area of Siberia and European Russia for the first time.

But, despite this organisation, the fact that the blockade has cut off soap and disinfectants has been responsible for the loss of thousands of lives by infectious disease.

Russia is a rich country agriculturally, but the peasant cannot supply food to the towns except in exchange for manufactured articles. The stoppage of imports makes it impossible for these articles to be manufactured in the towns, or obtained as finished goods from abroad. The situation is rendered still more disastrous by the partial breakdown of transport, the direct result of the attacks from without, and the fermenting of civil war on Russian territory.

A partial respite was allowed to Russia after the defeat of the armies of Koltchak, Denikin, and Yudenich. Advantage was immediately taken of this respite to inaugurate a great effort towards economic reconstruction, backed by a far-reaching and well-conceived educational campaign. The national energy was largely diverted from military operations to the improvement of the means of transport, the manufacture of articles for peaceful purposes, and the restoration of sanitary conditions. Perhaps the worst disservice rendered to Russia by the recent renewal of hostilities on the Polish front has been the forcing back of the Russian people, against their will, from the paths of peace into the paths of war. We ourselves have witnessed scores of examples of this baneful process.

The appeal for creative work is being once more set aside in favour of the appeal to military enthusiasm, while war conditions provide new pretexts for

restricting individual liberty and preventing freedom of discussion. These conditions cannot be changed while war continues.

One effect of the present crisis has been to rally practically all parties to the support of the Government for the purposes of national defence—whatever their differences on questions of internal politics. This demonstrates the futility of supposing that Communist principles, whether they be good or bad, can be destroyed by hostile pressure from abroad. Such pressure only increases the stability of the Government so far as internal politics are concerned.

In view of the above facts, we wish to register our unanimous and whole-hearted protest against the policy whose effects we have described—a policy as foolish as it is inhuman. Russia's supreme needs are immediate peace and free intercourse with the outside world. We recommend that the entire British Labour Movement should demand the removal of the last vestige of blockade and intervention, and the complete destruction of the barrier which Imperialist statesmen have erected between our own people and our brothers and sisters of Russia.

As a first step to attaining these objects the present Russian Government should be unconditionally recognised. It has shown its stability by resisting for two and a-half years the many efforts made to destroy it. It has repeatedly shown its will to peace. We can ourselves bear witness to the fact that it has made vigorous efforts to carry on the work of economic reconstruction.

We do not think it necessary to deal in detail with the argument that the Russian Government cannot be recognised, and peace can never be made with it because some of its actions are disapproved of by other Governments. In our opinion this is a question for Russia herself, and not for any foreign Government.

## SECOND INTERIM REPORT

The British Labour Delegation to Russia, having met to prepare their report, wish to declare at once on the urgent necessity of an immediate peace with the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

During their stay of about six weeks in Russia, the delegation visited Petrograd, Moscow, Smolensk, and the Polish front, and numerous towns and villages on the Volga from Nijni-Novgorod to Astrakhan. The marks of the cruel blockade and of war were visible everywhere. In the villages, while food was fairly satisfactory, there was a great lack of clothes, boots, household utensils, agricultural implements, and machinery. In the towns food was dangerously scarce and the power of work of many workers in the industrial regions was greatly reduced, owing to their obviously miserable physical condition. The transport which should have been bringing food from the country to the towns was taking food, munitions, and men to the front. The locomotives, which might have been working, stood idle on the rails for want of spare parts for their repair, which the blockade had not allowed to enter Russia. The workshops, which should have been making tools, agricultural machinery, and productive machinery, were making guns, bombs, and tanks.

In 1918-19 there were over a million cases of typhus fever and no town or village in Russia or Siberia escaped infection. In addition, there have been other epidemics of cholera, of Spanish influenza, and of smallpox. The soap, the disinfectants, and the medicines needed for the treatment of these diseases have been kept out of Russia by the blockade. Two or three hundred thousand of Russians died of typhus alone. One-half of the doctors attending on typhus died at their posts.

Ringed round from the world by a blockade of all the powerful nations of the earth, attacked by enemies from without and menaced by the fear of counter-revolution from within, is it wonderful that the revolutionary Government, which has maintained any kind of an order and discipline amongst its peoples in such a period, has rallied to its support practically the whole Russian nation? Russian national patriotism is now a burning sentiment which animates alike the hearts of revolutionary industrial workers, officers of the old regime, and of members of Socialist parties bitterly opposed to the methods and policy of the Bolsheviks. The motto of Russia is becoming rapidly "No hand, no voice, must be raised against our country in her extremity." It is on this sentiment that the power of the Bolsheviks rest. It is on this sentiment that they have built up a great army.

Members of the delegation have been present at great naval and military parades in Moscow and Petrograd, and have seen displays of the pre-military preparation of young people—many thousands from 16 to 18. They have seen, too, the military preparation as girl guides and boy scouts of the school-children of 14 to 16. The organisation of the army at the front and in the areas of training in the rear has been studied by the delegation, and they are profoundly impressed by the greatness of the effort which Russia has successfully made in the face of great obstacles and by the danger which this militarisation of Russia may mean for Western Europe, unless we hold out now the real hand



of friendship and make real peace. Peace is needed not only for Russia, but for all Europe. There is only one kind of militarism in all the world, and that is a danger to all civilisation. The blockade and intervention are turning a naturally friendly people into bitter enemies.

Peace now and at once—that is the great need of Russia and of the world, and in the name of the humanity of the world, we call upon our nation to insist that peace be made now and Europe be allowed to turn from the terrible spectres of war, famine, and disease to a rebuilding of its homes and a reshaping of its shattered civilisation.

Russia can give much to us from her natural resources, and Russia needs much from us. To pursue a policy of blockade and intervention is madness and criminal folly which can only end in European disaster.

*London, July 7, 1920.*

## *Regulations and Resolutions of the Ninth Congress of the Russian Communist Party*

*March 29—April 4, 1920*

### GREETINGS OF THE NINTH CONGRESS OF R.C.P. (BOLSHEVIKS) TO THE RED ARMY AND THE RED FLEET

The Ninth Congress of the Russian Communist Party sends greetings to the Red Army and the Red Fleet of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

Comrades, your labour and your sacrifices have saved the cause of the workers and peasants. You have defended with your breasts the great gains of the Socialist Revolution.

War was waged against you by all the forces of the world, all the Russian Landlords and Capitalists, the Tsarists' generals and the bourgeoisie of the whole world united in the attempt to crush the labouring masses, to destroy the Soviet Republic, to re-establish in Russia the old order under which the exploiters breathed so freely and the workman found it so hard to live.

Yet, in this unequal fight you have emerged victorious.

The fire of revolutionary enthusiasm and your readiness for every sacrifice in the name of the emancipation of the working masses have proved stronger than the Tanks, Dreadnoughts and the gold of your enemies. During two years of gigantic struggle against tremendous forces of the enemy you have defeated the counter revolutionary movement at home. You have destroyed the hired hordes of Koltchak, Yudenich, Miller and Denikin. You have repulsed the attacks of the world bourgeoisie, you have returned to the Socialist State its richest districts, you have broken the cordon of the hunger blockade, and you have compelled the numerous enemies of the Soviet Republic to negotiate peace with her.

Soviet Russia has placed you at her borders, she entrusts you, her powerful sentry, with the protection of the most priceless treasure of the working people—their freedom and fortune, their right to be independent masters of their own destiny.

You have carried out faithfully the task which was laid upon you. You have confounded all the plots of our enemies; you have won peace for the Soviet State, and you have enabled it to take up its principal task—the construction of a life of fraternal labour.

Once more you have come to the assistance of your brothers the workers and peasants. Retaining the rifle in one hand, ready to resist any fresh attempt of the enemy, you have taken the hammer and the axe in the other hand to assist in the reconstruction of the ruined industry and to help in the difficult transition to peaceful construction.

More than that, your defence of the freedom and the gains of the Worker-Peasant Soviet Russia has served as an impetus to the International Social Revolution. Your struggle is an example to the workers of all the world and has awakened everywhere a desire to fight for the sacred rights of the workers, for the complete emancipation of the workers from all oppression and exploitation.

Neither the Russian nation nor the workers of the world will ever forget your heroism and your sacrifices. The glorious deeds of the Red Army and the Red Fleet of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic will live for ever in the memory of the nation, rousing an enthusiasm and a will to struggle in the heart of every honest working-man.

Long live the Red Army and the Red Fleet!

Long live Soviet Russia!

Long live the International Soviet Republic!

Long live the International Social Revolution!

## GREETINGS OF THE NINTH CONGRESS OF RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY (BOLSHEVIKS) TO THE GERMAN PROLETARIAT

The Ninth Congress of the Russian Communist Party sends hearty greetings to the German workers and wishes for success in the difficult struggle which they have undertaken.

Brothers, your unanimous manifestations, the successful general strike, resulted in the defeat of the base attempt of the reactionaries to restore the despotic regime, the domination of brutal militarism, a new orgy of imperialism.

The Government of social traitors, of bourgeois directors, and of catholic leaders—a Government guilty of oppressing the proletariat and of flirting with the generals who were preparing the *coup d'état* of the Kapp conspirators—this Government, oblivious of the past, is now making every endeavour to return to the position which you have gained from them and to renew their old policy of merciless suppression of the workers.

But you, comrades, have resolved not to allow this. You have not taken up arms for the purpose of returning the power to the executioners of the proletariat and the bourgeois lackeys, but for the purpose of attaining the complete liberation of the proletariat, of establishing the Government of the working-class and the Socialist system.

The proletariat of Soviet Russia as well as of the whole world are watching with tense anxiety the heroic struggle in which we are engaged, fully aware of the victory the German Proletariat will serve as a signal for the commencement of the International Social Revolution.

We firmly trust that you will achieve your high aim, that you will knock the arms out of the hands of the criminal bourgeoisie, and will establish the dictatorship of the proletariat—this powerful lever for the liberation of Labour from the capitalist yoke.

Long live the German Proletariat!

Long live the German Red Army!

Long live the German Soviet Socialist Republic!

Long live the International Social Revolution!

## RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE NINTH CONGRESS OF THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY CONCERNING THE REPORT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

The Report of the Central Committee has convinced the Ninth Congress of the R.C.P. that the activity of the former was carried on under the most difficult conditions of civil war, of energetic establishment of Soviets and unprecedented growth of the Party.

The Congress is of opinion that in spite of all the difficulties which the Central Committee had to experience, the policy of the Party and the work of organisation was on the whole correctly and firmly carried out. The Congress expresses its approval of the activity of the Central Committee.

## THE IMMEDIATE PROBLEMS OF ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION

### 1—*The Increased Productivity of Labour*

The Congress is pleased to recognise the undoubted signs of increased productivity of labour among the leading workers; it, however, considers it its duty to warn all Local and Central Institutions of the Soviet Republic against the exaggerating of the value of the results attained.

The only conditions under which labour can gain really important results are, firstly, that every attempt is made by further agitation and organisation of our Party and of the Trade Unions to inspire the many millions in the labour masses of town and country with the idea of the necessity for energetic, enthu-



siastic work and increased productivity of labour. Secondly, that the Central and Local Economic Organisation take all the necessary measures to keep a sharp eye on all the manifestations of the increased productivity of labour, both quantitatively and qualitatively, and in due time and correctly to effect a complete utilisation of the flow of labour power to eliminate disunited efforts, small home (Kustar) productions, labour partisanship without entirely and harmfully suppressing all this, but by leading them and establishing them within the limits of the general State Plan.

## *2—Uniformity of the Economic Plan*

The basic condition of the economic regeneration of the country is the un-deviating introduction of a uniform Economic Plan, to be carried out in the next historic epoch. This Economic Plan is, naturally enough, owing to the great economic collapse and impoverishment of the country, divided into a number of consistent interdependent main problems:—

(a) First and foremost, the improvement of the state of transport, and the formation and delivery of an indispensable reserve of corn, fuel, and raw materials;

(b) Machine construction in connection with transport and for the purpose of obtaining fuel, raw material, and corn.

(c) An increased productivity in machine construction for the manufacture of products of general consumption;

(d) An increased production of articles for general consumption.

The cornerstone of the technical side should be the wide utilisation of electric energy and all its latest improvements; this should be applied in the various stages of the general Economic Plan according to their respective importance:—

(i) The elaboration of the plan for the electrification of social production and the realisation of the minimum program of electrification, that is to say, the utilisation of the principal sources of electric supply and of the existing electric stations as well as of a part of those which are now being erected in the various central towns.

(ii) The erection of regional electric stations and main cables of electric transmission with the corresponding increase of the activity of all manufactures connected with electric supply, etc.

(iii) The next step in the construction of electrical stations in the various urban districts, the further development of an electric network and the gradual electrification of the most important industrial processes.

(iv) The electrification of industry, transport, and agriculture. The economic centres of the Soviet Republic should lay their plans in connection with the above main Economic Plan; all the principal powers and means should in the first place be mobilised consistently and consecutively to carry out the immediate economic needs.

As far as there is the possibility of foreign trade for Soviet Russia, this should be entirely subjected to the requirements of the principal Economic Plan. All auxiliary industrial processes—the need for which arises for the execution of the principal tasks—should be developed as far as there is real necessity. Productions which are not indispensable to the general plan of the economic period should be maintained only in so far as they can in no way interfere with the execution of the chief problems. In view of all this, the current economic task of the Soviet Economic Centres must represent not only the mere sum total of registered needs and requirements, but should emanate with an iron consistency from the whole Economic Plan which has been drawn up with the view to the forthcoming period.

The realisation of this Plan is possible not by means of a casual individual heroic effort of the leading elements of the working class, but by means of stubborn, systematic, organised labour attracting ever greater masses of workers. The success of this kind of gradually increasing mobilisation of labour production is only possible by a constant elucidation for the mass of the urban and the rural workers of the essence of the Economic Plan, its consistency and its tangible results, which, however, become possible only after a long term of intense work and great sacrifices.

### 3—*Mobilisation of Skilled Workers*

The Ninth Congress approves of the action of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party on the mobilisation of the industrial proletariat, compulsory labour service, militarisation of production and the application of military detachments to economic needs.

In connection with the above, the Congress decrees that the Party organisation should in every way assist the Trade Unions and the Labour Sections in registering all skilled workers with a view of employing them in the various branches of the production with the same consistency and strictness as was done, and is being carried out to the present time, with regard to the commanding staff for army needs.

Every skilled worker is to return to his particular trade. Exceptions—*i.e.*, the retention of the skilled worker in any other branch of Soviet service—are allowed only with the sanction of the corresponding central and local authorities.

### 4—*Mass Mobilisation for Compulsory Labour Service*

It is necessary from the very beginning to place the Mass Mobilisation for Labour Service on a proper footing; that is to say, to establish upon every occasion as exact as possible correspondence between the number of mobilised, their place of concentration; and the extent of the labour problem in hand, and the requisite amount of tools and appliances. It is equally necessary to secure technically competent and politically firm trainers and instructors for all Mobilised Labour Sections; such instructors are to be selected by Party Mobilisation of Communist Labour Circles, just as that was done in the establishment of the Red Army.

### 5—*Labour Rivalry*

Every social system, whether based on slavery, feudalism, or capitalism, had its ways and means of labour compulsion and labour education in the interests of the exploiters.

The Soviet system is faced with the task of developing its own methods of labour compulsion to attain an increase of the intensity and wholesomeness of labour; this method is to be based on the socialisation of public economy in the interests of the whole nation.

In addition to the propaganda by which the people are to be influenced and the repressions which are to be applied to all idlers, parasites, and disorganisers who strive to undermine public zeal—the principal method for the increase of production will become the introduction of the system of labour.

In capitalist society rivalry assumed the character of competition and led to exploitation of man by man. In a society where the means of production are nationalised, labour rivalry is to increase the products of labour without infringing its solidarity.

Rivalry between factories, regions, guilds, workshops, and individual workers should become the subject of careful organisation and of close study on the side of the Trade Unions and the economic organs.

The system of premiums which is to be introduced should become one of the most powerful means of exciting rivalry. The system of rationing of food

supply is to get into line with it; so long as Soviet Russia suffers from insufficiency of provisions, it is only just that the industrious and conscientious worker receives more than the careless worker.

#### 6—*From Trust Centralisation to Socialist Centralisation*

The present form of industrial organisation is the form characteristic of a transition period. The Labour State has nationalised the capitalist trusts, complemented them with all individual enterprises of the same branch of industry, and has combined after the same method all the branches of the industry which were not formed into trusts under capitalism. This reorganisation has resulted in the entire industry of the country becoming a number of concurrent amalgamations economically independent though united by the Supreme Council of Public Economy.

Under capitalism every trust was in a position to acquire the requisite quantity of material and labour power at the nearest goods market and labour exchange, whereas under the present conditions these enterprises can receive all that they require, both in material and men, only by order of the Central Organs of the United Organisation of Public Economy. Unfortunately, the methods of centralisation which were applied immediately after the expropriation of the bourgeoisie led to the monstrous form of red tape and delay which are, of course, of great harm to our industry. Under the conditions which existed at the time of the Revolution and taking into consideration the vastness of the country, the extreme indefiniteness and changeableness of the principal factors of production, the disorganised transport and communication, the uncertain methods and equally uncertain results of economic registration, the resultant imperfection and delay were unavoidable.

The task of organisation consists of preserving and developing the vertical centralisation of Heads of Departments, combining it with horizontal submission of the various enterprises to economic regions, where the enterprises of the various branches of industry of diverse economic importance have to draw their raw material, transport means, and labour power from the same sources.

#### 7—*Oblast Economic Organisation<sup>1</sup>*

With regard to extensive regions, which are situated away from the centre and where peculiar economic conditions prevail, the Congress finds it necessary to establish in the immediate future competent and strong Oblast economic organs which are to be represented by the State Centres.

These Oblast Bureaux, composed of experienced men adhering to the general state policy, should be endowed with full authority for the control of the local economic life, for the purpose of uniting both the Provincial Councils of Economy and the Regional administrations, to carry out on the basis of a plan approved by the Centre all the necessary alterations, transfer of raw materials and labour power, etc., as circumstances may require.

In connection with this work the Oblast Bureau must have fully empowered delegates with the Economic Central Administrations.

In accordance with these tasks, the staffs of the Oblast Bureaux should also comprise authorised delegates connected with the Economic Central Administration.

In view of the fact that Oblast Economic Bureau acts in accordance with the powers which are authorised by the Soviet Government, the regulations of the Seventh Congress of the Party apply also to the relations between the above Oblast Bureau and the Government (Provincial) Executive Committee.

The definition of the extent of the frontiers of those Oblasts, where Oblast agencies of the Centre are to be established, is to be based on economic con-

(<sup>1</sup>) An Oblast is an area uniting more than one Gubernia (province) under one local organisation.



siderations. The Oblast agency is to be represented also by the Labour Army in connection with questions of the utilisation of labour power at its disposal.

In view of the fact that in certain localities the Labour Army Councils, to a great extent, fulfil the functions of Oblast Economic Organs, it is decided that in the future they should also deal with the same questions. If it is necessary, they may carry out all the necessary changes with regard to the administrative apparatus without resorting to the formation of other parallel Oblast Organs.

### 8—*The Elaboration of a System of Socialist Centralisation*

A Special Commission is to be established at the Supreme Council of Public Economy and its local sections for the study of the questions of co-ordination and inter-relationship between the various economic organs, central and local; the simplest methods of obtaining the requisite quantity of raw material or amount of labour power for various enterprises, how to secure additional labour power, and so forth, without applying in every individual case to the Centre and without infringing the general State Plans. Soviet Public Economy will change from the present form of centralisation, the kind which still bears traces of capitalist trusts, to an actual Socialist Centralisation which embraces under a single plan every sphere of public production in every part of the country. The following are the conditions: that improvement based on actual experience is constantly introduced, that the connection between the most differentiated local spheres of production is developed, that the shortest possible distances are chosen for the transport of raw material and manufactured products, and that the best methods are utilised for the application of the labour power of the Oblast for the needs of the provinces, towns, and all districts.

### 9—*The Organisation of Industrial Administration*

The chief problem in the organisation of industry is to create competent, firm, and energetic directorship, whether the question is one of an individual industrial enterprise or of an entire sphere of production.

For the purpose of achieving a less complex and more exact form of industrial administration, as well as in the interests of the economic management of the organising powers of the country, the Congress finds it necessary to introduce industrial administration collegiates and boards of management by single persons. The Congress therefore decrees the establishment of a one-man management in workshops and guilds, in factories and works administrations, as well as the decreasing of the collegiates and boards in all average-sized and more important links of the administrative productive apparatus.

The extremely important question of drafting into the administration of production of ever-increasing circles of the working class should be solved by the application of a number of measures, the most important of which will be enumerated below, but none of which are to be carried out at the cost of the stability, competency, and the simplicity of the apparatus.

Taking into consideration the fact that no absolute type of administration of Soviet enterprises, of combines of enterprises, and of entire spheres of production has yet been established, and also that the formation of the requisite cadres of administrators, directors, and so forth, is still in its initial stages, the Congress recognises it both as possible and admissible for the purposes of ultimately arriving at one-man management to employ the following system in industrial administration, viz.:—

(a) A trade unionist working-man managing director, one possessing a firm will, the quality of persistence, and in particular the capacity of selecting and employing specialists, engineers, mechanics, etc.—such managing director is to have the technical assistance of an engineer;

(b) A fully competent specialist engineer in the quality of actual managing director of the enterprises, who is to be assisted by a Trade Union worker commissary, fully authorised and bound to participate in every detail of the concern;

(c) Two or three members of the Trades Unions in the quality of assistants to the managing director, who must necessarily be a specialist; these assistants enjoy the right of control of every branch of factory administration, but are not entitled to suspend the orders of the managing director;

(d) Where there are small collegiates or boards working in close, harmonious contact, the several members of which form a complement to each other, and who have proved by actual experience their efficient working capacity, they are to be retained with the introduction of an extension of the rights and privileges of the President, who is responsible for the work of the entire board. Collegiates or boards of the average-sized and higher organs of the economic administration, such as Government (Provincial) Councils of Public Economy, regional administrations, chief departments and sections, should be limited to a minimum number of members, with the President responsible for the work of the entire administration.

At all events, an imperative condition of the improvement of economic organisation and of growth of production is the actual establishment in every sphere of life of the repeatedly proclaimed principle of final and absolute responsibility of a given person for a definite branch, section, or piece of work. The form of boards accustomed to the process of discussion and the framing of resolutions is unconditionally to give place to one-man responsibility and management in the process of execution. The degree of fitness of the organisation is to be judged by the measure in which functions, duties, and responsibilities are strictly divided.

A careful control of all work of administration, with the aim of constant selection of personal staff and of a practical establishment of the best means of combining the activity of workers and specialists in administration, is to be established by a special organ under the Supreme Council of Public Economy.

The organisation of leading industrial institutions, whether managed by a board or under single management, must be carried out in agreement with the organs of the Supreme Council of Public Economy and the corresponding organs of the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions.

Specialists who carry out the duties of directors or occupy analogous posts are to be appointed in the same way.

#### 10—*Mass Workers to be attracted into Industrial Administration*

The Congress considers it indispensable to take energetic measures for the industrial organisation of the education of the large masses of workers and the constant attraction of fresh elements from the midst of the working class, capable of carrying out organising work in production.

For this purpose steps must be taken—

(a) To perfect the propaganda for the increase of production with the assistance of the Trade Unions and of the Supreme Council of Public Economy, not limiting it to appeals for increased production of labour only, but raising questions of a concrete and technical aspect in connection with the various spheres of industry and individual enterprises; to insist that every individual worker in a factory has a perfect idea of the character and place occupied by his particular factory in the general system of Public Economy, to introduce a systematic periodical (monthly, for instance) discussion of the report of the administration, of the amount of

work performed during the last month, and of the productive plan for the forthcoming month, by a general meeting of all the workers of the factory;

(b) To organise, in connection with individual large enterprises or in connection with combined industries, courses for the study of industrial administration, where the more able workmen should be given an opportunity of acquiring a practical training in the necessary elements of administration without interfering with their own productive work;

(c) To secure that workers who had acquired such training should be appointed as assistant foremen or assistants to managing director of the factory;

(d) To secure that workers who had acquired the preliminary practical qualification should be appointed to independent posts in connection with the industrial administration, first in enterprises of secondary size, and later on in more important concerns.

### 11—*Specialists in Industry*

Being of opinion that without a scientific organisation of industry even the widest application of compulsory labour service, as the great labour heroism of the working class, will not only fail to secure the establishment of a powerful Socialist production, but it will also fail to assist the country to free itself from the clutches of poverty—the Congress considers it imperative to register all able specialists of the various departments of Public Economy and to utilise them widely for the purpose of industrial organisation.

Without altogether abolishing the further necessary central and severe punishment of all counter-revolutionary elements striving to utilise the posts occupied for the purpose of hindering and undermining the economic regime, the Congress at the same time reminds all the members of the Party in the most categorical form of the necessity of ideologically interesting and attracting all specialists into the sphere of the industrial interests of the Soviet Republic. The Congress makes it incumbent upon all Party members to strive, in strict correspondence with the spirit and the letter of our programme, to establish an atmosphere of comradely collaboration of workers and specialists whom the proletarian regime has inherited from the bourgeois system.

The Congress considers the elucidation for the wide masses of the workers of the tremendous character of the economic problems of the country to be one of the chief problems of industrial and general political agitation and propaganda; and of equal importance with this, technical education, and administrative and scientific technical experience. The Congress makes it obligatory for all the members of the Party to fight mercilessly that particularly obnoxious idea, the ignorant conceit which deems the working class capable of solving all problems without the assistance *in the most responsible cases* of specialists of the bourgeois school, the management. Demagogic elements who speculate on this kind of prejudice in the more backward section of our working classes can have no place in the ranks of the Party of scientific Socialism.

Registration of individual output or productivity of labour and the granting of corresponding individual premiums must also be carried out in a form suitable to administrative and technical staffs. Better conditions must be secured for our best administrators and engineers to enable them to make full use of their capacities in the interests of Socialist economy.

A special system of premiums is to be established for these specialists, under whose guidance the workers can attain the necessary qualifications to make them capable of accepting further independent posts.

The prejudice against joining Trade Unions still held by the higher technical staff of our concerns and institutions must be completely eradicated. By in-



cluding in their Unions doctors, engineers, surveyors, etc., the Trade Unions, with the comradely collaboration of the organised proletariat, will assist these workers to take an active part in the work of Soviet construction, and will at the same time acquire the special training and scientific knowledge and experience necessary to the workers.

### *12—Chief Section of Political Propaganda of Ways of Communication*

For the immediate future transport remains the centre of the attention and the efforts of the Soviet Government. The improvement of transport is the indispensable basis upon which even the most moderate success in all other spheres of production, and first of all in the provision question, must be established.

The chief difficulty with regard to the improvement of transport is the weakness of the Transport Trade Union, which is due in the first case to the heterogeneity of the personnel of the railways, amongst whom there are still a number of those who belong to the period of disorganisation, and, secondly, to the fact that the most class-conscious and best elements of the railway proletariat were at the various fronts in the civil war.

Considering great Trade Union assistance to the railway workers to be one of the principal tasks of the Party, and the only condition under which transport can be raised to its highest capacity, the Congress at the same time recognises the inflexible necessity of employing exclusive and extraordinary measures (martial law, and so forth). Such necessity is the result of the terrible collapse of the transport and the railway system and is to introduce measures which cannot be delayed and which are to obviate the complete paralysis of the railway system, and, together with this, the ruin of the Soviet Republic.

Considering the chief section of political propaganda of Ways and Communication from this aspect, the Congress looks upon this section as a temporary organ of the Communist Party and of the Soviet Government, pursuing simultaneously two inseparable tasks, viz., the immediate improvement of the state of our transport by means of the organised activity of our trusted Communists, the best representatives of the working class; and enlarging the Trade Union railway organisation by infusing in it the best workers, whom the above section dispatches to various railway points, as well as by assisting the Trade Union itself to establish in its organisation an iron discipline, thus changing the Railway Union into an indispensable instrument for effecting an improvement in the railway transport.

Upon the execution of this work the chief section for political propaganda of Ways and Communication and its local organs should in the shortest time possible be merged with the Trade Union organisation of the railway proletariat on the one hand, and on the other hand with the normal institutions of the People's Commissariat for Ways and Communications.

### *13—Provision Problems*

The following are the prominent problems of the Food Policy:—

1 To collect by means of the greatest possible exertion of our forces a provision fund or store of a few hundred million poods.

2 To distribute this store to the provision bases of the principal districts of industrial concentration.

3 Closely and strictly to subjugate the Food Policy, especially as far as distribution is concerned, to the interests of the revival of industry and transport. (It is necessary in the first place to supply the most important enterprises and the transport apparatus; a more flexible manœuvring must be employed in connection with the changes arising in industrial undertakings, the introduc-

tion of a system of premiums in kind, and so on.) One of the most important problems both as regards the re-establishment of industry as well as regards the interests of the foreign goods exchange is the formation of a supply of raw material. The supply of raw material must be based on the system of Government levy in and the obligatory delivery of raw material in accordance with the Government instructions. At the same time, wherever raw material is supplied, a system for the payment for goods thus supplied by products and semi-manufactures should be introduced, to the extent and in such a form, to be established specially in each individual case, as is already being practised with regard to hemp, flax, and so forth.

#### 14—*The Labour Armies*

The utilisation of military detachments for labour is of equal importance from a practical, economical, and Socialist educational aspect. The following are the conditions for the advantageous and extensive application of military labour:—

(a) A single kind of work for which all the Red Army soldiers are equally fit;

(b) The application of a system of allotted tasks, the non-fulfilment of which leads to a decrease of rations;

(c) The introduction of the premium system;

(d) The participation in the work in the same labour districts of a number of Communists, whose example is to influence the Red Army detachments.

The drafting into the Labour Army of larger military units will inevitably result in a higher percentage of Red Army men not being engaged in production. Therefore, the utilisation of the entire Labour Armies under conditions of preservation of military apparatus is justifiable only where that is necessary for military purposes to preserve the Army in its entirety. But so soon as the necessity disappears in this direction, the usual large staff and administration are to be dismissed, and its best elements, consisting of skilled workers, are to be utilised for the formation of a small Pioneer Labour Detachment to be sent to the most important industrial enterprises.

#### 15—*Labour Desertion*

Owing to the fact that a considerable part of the workers, either in search of better food conditions or often for purposes of speculation, voluntarily leave their places of employment or change from place to place, which inevitably harms production and deteriorates the general position of the working class, the Congress considers one of the most important problems of Soviet Government and of the Trade Union organisation to be established is the firm, systematic, and insistent struggle with labour desertion. The way to fight this is to publish a list of desertion fines, the creation of a Labour Detachment of Deserters under fine, and, finally, internment in concentration camps.

#### 16—*Subotniki*

More attention should be given to the free Saturdays taking place in the provinces. Such work should be selected for the free Saturdays, as it is one of the greatest importance to the local population; this work should be of the character of a collective labour effort for widely-understood aims, and attempts should be made not only to attract non-party men to this work, but even the general local population, both men and women. A carefully-elaborated technical plan for every Saturday is of equal importance, as well as strict and most advantageous distribution of forces and a necessarily economic utilisation of such forces. Only under such conditions will the Subotniki take root,

attract ever new masses, and enthuse the ordinary work with new initiative and fresh will.

### 17—*Locomotives Repairs and the Construction of New Locomotives*

In addition to the encouragement which is to be given to the initiative of every individual group of workers in the work of repairing our rolling-stock, it is, however, also necessary to understand that this makeshift method of helping the transport can only bear a temporary character, as this method absorbs too much skilled labour and employs factory plants which have originally been set aside for other purposes.

In view of the fact that little hope can justifiably be entertained of receiving in the next few months, or even years, a large number of locomotives from abroad, the inevitable necessity arises for a large-scale manufacture of the most indispensable reserve parts, and later on also of locomotives to an extent far exceeding the pre-war output. The one condition of success in this direction is the exact elaboration and the energetic realisation of a wide plan calculated for a considerable number of the most suitable works on the American system of production—*i.e.*, of a strict division of the process of production to detailed functions, with the substitutions of skilled workers by others who are only partly skilled, but who are to work under the directions of the instructors.

### 18—*Model Enterprises*

Along with the general measures for raising the economic production of the country and the industrial output of labour, the Congress also deems it very important to introduce in suitable districts the establishment of Model Enterprises of the principal branches of industry. These Enterprises, which are to be selected in accordance with the general Economic Plan for technical, geographical, and other considerations, are to be speedily supplied with additional plant, with the necessary amount of labour power and engineers, as well as with provision<sup>s</sup>, fuel, and raw material. The best administrators and engineers are to be placed at the head of these Enterprises. All the political propaganda and other such needs of these Model Enterprises are to be catered for by the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party under its direct supervision and control. Reports of the progress of the work of the Model Enterprises are to be periodically supplied to and published by the Press. As soon as it is possible, technical and administrative courses of study are to be established in connection with the above Enterprises, as well as Labour Schools and so forth, with the ultimate aim of every Model Enterprise becoming a School of Industrial Education and the hearth of technical and economic creative genius for an extensive region of a vast industrial sphere, if not even for the entire country.

### 19—*Paper and Printing*

In view of the fact that the first conditions of the success of the Soviet Republic in all departments, including the economic, is chiefly systematic printed agitation, the Congress draws the attention of the Soviet Government to the deplorable state in which our Paper and Printing Industries find themselves. The ever-decreasing number of newspapers fail to reach not only the peasants, but even the workers, in addition to which our poor technical means render the papers hardly readable. The Congress strongly appeals to the Supreme Council of Public Economy, to the corresponding Trade Unions and to other interested institutions to apply all efforts to raise the quantity, and to introduce a general system and order in the printing business which will secure for the worker and peasant in Russia a supply of Socialist printed matter.



In keeping with the great immediate problems with which the Socialist Revolution is faced the Congress decrees:—

“That the International Proletariat Festival of the First of May, the date which falls this year on a Saturday, should be changed into a Grand All-Russian Labour Saturday (Subotnik).”

### CONCERNING THE ORGANISATION OF CO-ORDINATION BETWEEN THE ECONOMIC COMMISSARIATS

With the aim of assuring the complete introduction of the single Economic Plan as confirmed by the Congress of the Party, the Congress instructs the Central Committee within the shortest time to draw up a system of co-ordination between the Supreme Council of Public Economy and other institutions which are closely bound with the Economic Commissariat (Commissariat for Food, Ways of Communication, Agriculture) in their productive work.

### TRADE UNIONS AND THEIR ORGANISATIONS

#### 1—*The General Conditions and General Problems of the Trade Unions in the Epoch of the Proletarian Dictatorship*

Under the Proletariat Dictatorship the Trade Unions change from organs of struggle against the traders in power and the capitalist ruling class, into an apparatus for the dominating working-class. The principal problems of the Trade Unions are to be solved not entirely of their accord, not as an independent organised power, but as one of the principal parts of the apparatus of the Soviet State guided by the Communist Party. Only under these conditions will a firm system of Proletarian Dictatorship be established and industry revived.

#### 2—*The Trade Unions and the Soviet State*

1 The Soviet State is the widest imaginable form of Labour Organisation which is actually realising the construction of Communism, constantly attracting to this work the ever-growing masses of the peasantry. On the other hand, the Soviet State represents Labour Organisation which has at its disposal all the material means of compulsion. In the present form of Proletarian Dictatorship, the Soviet State is the lever of the economic *coup d'état*. There is, therefore, no question of opposing the organs of the Soviet Government.

2 Politics may be said to be the most concentrated expression of the generalisation and completion of economics. Therefore, any antagonism of the economic organisation of the working-class known as the Trade Unions towards its political organisation—*i.e.*, the Soviets—is an absurdity and is deviating from Marxism towards bourgeois ideas and particularly towards bourgeois Trade Union prejudices. This kind of antagonism is still more harmful and absurd during the epoch of Proletarian Dictatorship when all the struggle of the proletariat and the whole of its political and economical activity should more than ever be concentrated, united and directed by one single will and bound by an iron unity.

3 The Trade Unions in their quality as a School for Communism and of a link between the section of the proletariat which has not as yet completely liberated itself from the old Guild and Trade Union traditions on the one side and the Communist Party on the other side, should educate the masses, organise them culturally, politically and administratively, and should raise them to the level of Communism; the Trade Unions should prepare the most backward section of the proletariat for the part of the builders of the Communist order, which is being created by the Soviet State under its present historical form of Proletarian Dictatorship.

4 This calls for a closer union between the Soviet apparatus and the Trade Union apparatus. In view of the fact that the Soviet Government represents a wider all-embracing organisation concentrating the entire power of the proletariat, it becomes apparent that with the increased development of the Communist consciousness and the creative capacities of the masses, the Trade Unions will gradually change into auxiliary organs of the Proletarian State. It is not reasonable to suppose that the contrary is likely to happen.

5 In pursuing this line the Trade Unions carry out their most important function—namely, that of the economic administration—by penetrating into the Soviet organisations, imbuing them and gradually becoming the principle basis of the Soviet economic apparatus.

### 3—*The Trade Unions and the Communist Party*

1 The Communist Party is the leading organisation of the working-class, the guide of the Proletarian Movement and of the struggle for the establishment of the Communist system.

2 The Communist Party exercises a great influence on the non-party sections of the workers through the Communist Circles and fractions which are to be found in all Labour organisations, and, what is of the greatest importance, which are to be found in all Trade Union organisations. Proletarian Dictatorship and the construction of Socialism is only possible to the extent to which the Trade Unions, though nominally remaining non-party, in reality adhere to the Communist policy and actually realise this policy in life.

3 It is therefore necessary that every Trade Union should possess a strictly disciplined organised fraction of the Communist Party. Every fraction of the Party represents a section of the local organisation which is under the control of the Party Committee, whilst fractions of the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions are under the control of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party. All regulations of the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions concerning conditions and organisation of labour are binding upon all Trade Union organisations as well as upon members of the Party working therein and can be repealed by no other Party organs except the Central Committee of the Party. The Local Committees which control and direct the ideologic (propaganda) activity of the Trade Unions are not entitled to control or direct the said Trade Unions in any other of their activities. The relationship between the Local Party Committees and the Trade Union fractions are established with due precision by corresponding paragraphs of the Party Code.

### 4—*The Forms of Participation of the Trade Unions in the Economic Apparatus of the Proletarian State*

1 In view of the fact that the Trade Unions uniting the workers of the various large branches of industry are closely connected with such industries and, naturally enough under the circumstances, represent here a competent organisation, they therefore represent the chief bases of those economic organisations which direct and control industry.

2 This is manifested by the fact that although the Trade Unions represent no individual separate organisation and can under no circumstances be said exclusively and entirely to direct the economic production of the Soviet Republic, they are yet an important factor, participating as they do in every detail of the organisation of production. It must also be mentioned that not a single Trade Union organisation is guilty of directly interfering with the course of production in any enterprise.

3 The Factory or Workers' Committees form the lowest section or group of the Trade Unions. Without interfering with the administration of production of a given enterprise the Factory Committee performs the following

functions: it assists in the raising of labour discipline, by all measures possible including comradesly courts of discipline; along with the general political propaganda it carries on also productive labour propaganda; it attracts the workers into participation in labour inspection; and educates the workers and interests them in the general activity and rôle of the factory or works. (This is done by means of reports, accounts, etc.) The Factory or Works Committee also assist in the selection of Labour Administrators and control the activity of the Commissions in charge of instituting and changing the rates of pay.

4 The Trade Union participates in the formation of the Boards of Administration of Factories and Works. This is effected with the consent and agreement of the corresponding organs of the Supreme Councils of Public Economy; the principle of election must give place to that of selection, which is to be based on practical experience and qualification, or technical competency, firmness, organising capacity and business efficiency.

5 Regional Administrations and Administrators of Factories and Works consist of persons appointed with the consent and agreement of the Central Committee of the corresponding Union on the one hand, of the Collegiate or Board of the Chief Department and of the Centre on the other, or, in the event of direct control by the Supreme Council of Public Economy, by agreement with and under conditions laid down by the final sections of the Præsidium of the latter.

6 The Præsidium of Boards of the Government (Provincial) Council of Public Economy are formed with the agreement of the Provincial Trade Union and the Government (Provincial) Executive Committee. The Chief Department and Centres are formed by agreement with the Central Committees of Trade Unions and the corresponding section of the Supreme Council of Public Economy. Finally, so far as the Supreme Council of Public Economy itself is concerned, the candidates for its Præsidium are appointed by the Congress of Councils of Public Economy and formed with the close participation of the Trade Unions.

7 All other leading economic organisations, such as those which are in charge of Mobilisation, Distribution, the Registration and Protection of Labour Power, in the form of the Chief Committee for the Protection of Labour, and so forth, are also to be formed analogically to the organisation set out in Paragraph 6.

Thus it is obvious that the Trade Unions play a most important and vital rôle in all the links of industrial administration and in the administration of public economy generally; this rôle is destined constantly to increase with the growth in the level of civilisation of the working-class as a whole.

### *5—Immediate Trade Union Problems*

1 The defeat of the White Armies and the problems of peaceful construction in connection with the incredible catastrophes of public economy demands an extraordinary effort of all the powers of the proletariat and the drafting into the process of public labour of large masses of the peasantry. The Trade Union should, therefore, use all its apparatus for the participation in this difficult and intense struggle for economic revival.

2 In accordance with the above, all the methods of the activity of the Trade Union should be radically changed. Since the proletariat as a class is faced with the task of a transition of its methods of work to that of "war-time work"—that is to say—the highest degree of precision, execution and self-sacrifice on the side of the workers, all this equally applies, first of all, to the organs of industrial administration generally, and consequently also to the Trade Unions.

3 In imitation of the leading party of the proletariat the Trade Unions should reorganise their own apparatus; they should first of all destroy all the remnants of disorganisation and carelessness, introduce a spirit of strict



4 This calls for a closer union between the Soviet apparatus and the Trade Union apparatus. In view of the fact that the Soviet Government represents a wider all-embracing organisation concentrating the entire power of the proletariat, it becomes apparent that with the increased development of the Communist consciousness and the creative capacities of the masses, the Trade Unions will gradually change into auxiliary organs of the Proletarian State. It is not reasonable to suppose that the contrary is likely to happen.

5 In pursuing his line the Trade Unions carry out their most important function—namely that of the economic administration—by penetrating into the Soviet organisations, imbuing them and gradually becoming the principle basis of the Soviet economic apparatus.

### *3—The Trade Unions and the Communist Party*

1 The Communist Party is the leading organisation of the working-class, the guide of the Proletarian Movement and of the struggle for the establishment of the Communist system.

2 The Communist Party exercises a great influence on the non-party sections of the workers through the Communist Circles and fractions which are to be found in all Labour organisations, and, what is of the greatest importance, which are to be found in all Trade Union organisations. Proletarian Dictatorship and the construction of Socialism is only possible to the extent to which the Trade Unions, though nominally remaining non-party, in reality adhere to the Communist policy and actually realise this policy in life.

3 It is therefore necessary that every Trade Union should possess a strictly disciplined organised fraction of the Communist Party. Every fraction of the Party represents a section of the local organisation which is under the control of the Party Committee, whilst fractions of the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions are under the control of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party. All regulations of the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions concerning conditions and organisation of labour are binding upon all Trade Union organisations as well as upon members of the Party working therein and can be repealed by no other Party organs except the Central Committee of the Party. The Local Committees which control and direct the ideological (propaganda) activity of the Trade Unions are not entitled to control or direct the said Trade Unions in any other of their activities. The relationship between the local Party Committees and the Trade Union fractions are established with precision by corresponding paragraphs of the Party Code.

### *4—The Forms of participation of the Trade Unions in the Economic Apparatus of the Proletarian State*

1 In view of the fact that the Trade Unions uniting the workers of the various large branches of industry are closely connected with such industries and, naturally enough under the circumstances, represent here a competent organisation, they therefore represent the chief bases of those economic organisations which direct and control industry.

2 This is manifested by the fact that although the Trade Unions represent no individual separate organisation and can under no circumstances be said exclusively and entirely to direct the economic production of the Soviet Republic, they are yet an important factor, participating as they do in every detail of the organisation of production. It must also be mentioned that not a single Trade Union organisation is guilty of directly interfering with the course of production in any enterprise.

3 The Factory and Workers' Committees form the lowest section or group of the Trade Unions. Without interfering with the administration of production of a given enterprise the Factory Committee performs the following

functions: it assists in the raising of labour discipline, in all respects, including especially matters of discipline, along with the other political propaganda it carries on; also, productive labour propaganda, attracts the workers into participation in labour inspection, and stimulates interest in the general welfare and fate of the labour organs. This is done by means of reports, accounts, etc.] The Ministry of Wage Commission also assist in the selection of labour administrators and committee members of the Commissions in charge of enforcing and changing the law.

4 The Trade Union participates in the formation of the Board of Administration of Factories and Works. This is effected with the latter and agreement of the corresponding organs of the Supreme Council of the Economy, the principle of control must give place to that of administration, which is based on practical experience and qualifications, on administrative firmness, responsibility, capacity and various efficiency.

5 Regional Administrations and Administrations of Factories and Works must sit or persons approved with the consent and agreement of the corresponding organs of the corresponding State or the localities of the Ministry of Factories and Works of the Chief Department of the Labour or the other, or the Labour or other control by the Supreme Council of Public Economy or agreement with and under conditions laid down by the local organs of the Administration of the Labour.

6 The President of Board of the Commissions of Factories and Works of Public Economy are formed with the agreement of the Supreme Council of the Ministry and the Government of Factories and Works, the Chief Department and Control of Factories and Works, the Labour or other control by the Supreme Council of Public Economy, the latter is in the Supreme Council of Public Economy itself is concerned, the conditions for its functioning approved by the Supreme Council of Public Economy and Commissions of the Labour or other control by the Supreme Council of Public Economy.

7 All other labour organs, organizations, such as Commissions in charge of Factories and Works, the Administration of Factories and Works, the Labour or other control by the Supreme Council of Public Economy, the latter is in the Supreme Council of Public Economy itself is concerned, the conditions for its functioning approved by the Supreme Council of Public Economy and Commissions of the Labour or other control by the Supreme Council of Public Economy.

These are the organs of the Trade Union, the Labour or other control by the Supreme Council of Public Economy, the latter is in the Supreme Council of Public Economy itself is concerned, the conditions for its functioning approved by the Supreme Council of Public Economy and Commissions of the Labour or other control by the Supreme Council of Public Economy.

#### 1. General Principles of the Trade Union

The organs of the Trade Union, the Labour or other control by the Supreme Council of Public Economy, the latter is in the Supreme Council of Public Economy itself is concerned, the conditions for its functioning approved by the Supreme Council of Public Economy and Commissions of the Labour or other control by the Supreme Council of Public Economy.

2. The organs of the Trade Union, the Labour or other control by the Supreme Council of Public Economy, the latter is in the Supreme Council of Public Economy itself is concerned, the conditions for its functioning approved by the Supreme Council of Public Economy and Commissions of the Labour or other control by the Supreme Council of Public Economy.

3. The organs of the Trade Union, the Labour or other control by the Supreme Council of Public Economy, the latter is in the Supreme Council of Public Economy itself is concerned, the conditions for its functioning approved by the Supreme Council of Public Economy and Commissions of the Labour or other control by the Supreme Council of Public Economy.

Labour and Peasant population—that is to say, the complete abolition of the existence of the All-Russian Agricultural and Industrial Co-operatives and their amalgamation with the Central Union of which they are to become Sections.

In addition to this the Congress trusts the Central Committee to strive to achieve the reorganisation of the less important and smaller size Agricultural and Trading Co-operative amalgamations.

The Congress expresses the opinion that this reorganisation is to be guided by the following principles:—

1 Every attempt should be made to see that the initiative and independence of the peasant-producers who are amalgamated and are amalgamating into these Co-operatives are not suppressed and that the quantity of the products which they manufacture are not decreased but, on the contrary, increased.

2 The various forms of Agriculture and Trading Co-operatives of a Government (Provincial) and Regional scale should be put under the control of the corresponding Unions of Co-operative Societies with the retention of the rights and privileges of autonomous Productive Sections. As far as the productive economic relations are concerned, the Agricultural and Trading Co-operatives are entirely under the management and the control of the Supreme Council of Public Economy and the People's Commissariat for Agriculture; the subordination of the Consumers' Co-operative should be only administrative.

The logical and consistent realisation of the principles which form the basis of the decrees passed on March 20, 1919, and January 27, 1920, in the direction indicated by the present resolution will lead to a change in the organisation of the Co-operatives from a more or less narrow form of amalgamation of individual privileged groups of the population under conditions of capitalist society into new co-operative forms; these forms will be in keeping with the economic and the political conditions of Proletarian Dictatorship and will further be capable of serving as a basis for the organisation of supply of the population on Communist lines.

## THE QUESTION OF ORGANISATION

### I

The immediate organisation problems of our Party are always in the closest connection with the immediate problems of a general political and social economic character. At the present moment, our Party is faced with a special problem of organisation in connection with the economic problems. The party will have to co-ordinate its work in accordance with the new economic problems, to reconstruct its ranks, and to carry out a radical redistribution of forces.

### II

It is the business of the Party to explain to every one of its members that at the present moment, when the Russian Communist Party is responsible for the economic life of the country, the most inconspicuous and roughest work in the economic sphere is one of the greatest importance, and is to be considered responsible Party work.

The following are the principal forms of Party work at the present time: Factory work of groups led by Communists, Party organisation work on railways and transport generally, work in connection with the realisation of various forms of compulsory labour service, work of the Communists in the organisation of the supply of wood, communal feeding organisation, barracks and house committee organisations, work in connection with the repair and the proper working of baths, work in connection with the clearing and repairing



of houses, guidance and control of work carried on in public gardens and squares, schools, social maintenance institutions, etc.

### III

The chief organisation problem of the Party is correctly to distribute the Party work amongst every one of the 600,000 members; the general rule is that the local organisation should send every one of its members to work in connection with his trade and speciality. The regrouping of Party forces in every town and province and every factory must be carried out from the point of view of their utilisation in the various processes of production; the most important concerns should be the first to be supplied with the Communist workers, whilst within the latter the Communists are to be distributed in such a way that every workshop possesses a formidable Communist nucleus, capable of independence and initiative. This is the point of view which guides the Central Committee in the redistribution of Party forces on a general State scale.

### IV

To carry out successfully the task pointed out in Paragraph 3, the registration of Party members must be organised on a proper scale. This basis of this registration must be on a system of a single Party ticket. In the registration of the members of the Party both the local organisation as well as the Central Committee should pay particular attention to the member's trade, to his economic and organising qualifications and to the part which he can take in the economic revival of the Party.

### V

This exact registration of the members of the Party should be utilised to introduce a systematic distribution of the Party powers as well as to establish a gradual transfer of the members from limited and less responsible work to work of a more responsible and wider nature. For the purpose of achieving this primary task, the Congress recommends the following measures:—

1 Every lower Group (collective) submits once in every one or two months a list of names to the corresponding higher organised Group; this list is to be composed of 5% to 10% of the staff of the lower Group, pointing out their work in the past and indicating the particular kind of work for which the Group considers the comrades named best suitable. Similar lists are to be periodically supplied by the Factory and Works of Communist Groups or Sections to the Regional Committees and by the Regional Committees to the Government (Provincial) Committees and by the latter to the Central Committee. At the same time, the Groups (collectives) are recommended to compose the said list with the greatest care and attention in view of the fact that the members of the Group bear full responsibility for the comrades whom they recommend.

2 To speed up and successfully raise the level of the work of the Party workers in the economic sphere all Party organisation should pay the most serious attention to the Communist fractions which are to be found in non-party organisations—*i.e.*, to Communist fractions in Trade Unions, Soviets and so forth. The above fractions are to be requested to introduce the same form of lists as that pointed out above concerning Party Groups (collectives).

3 The Party organisations are to pursue the same policy in the organisation of Party Conferences. The Party organisations should have a Group of comrades present at every non-Party Conference for the purpose of selecting suitable Soviet workers who could be entrusted with responsible work. For this purpose it is necessary to organise extensive non-Party Conferences, which are to be carefully prepared and initiated in practical questions of economic construc-

tion not only in large regional cities or in towns generally, but also in villages, amongst the Red Army, the militia, and especially amongst women and young workers, boys and girls.

4 Local Party organisations should adopt all possible measures which are likely to lead to the desired aim.

## VI

Communists who form part of the staff of factories or works enjoy no advantages whatever over the rank and file of the workers. Their duties, however, are far higher than those of the average worker. Every one of them as far as the everyday life of the enterprise is concerned, must present an example of zeal, precision and performance of duty. The Party Groups which are to be found in productive enterprises take care, without interfering in the administration of the latter, that all the directions of the administration are carried out unconditionally. They are to render every assistance both to the administration and to the Factory or Works Committees in all the latter's attempts to raise the productivity of labour; they are also to utilise all their Party authority and influence, which are to be as widely spread as possible amongst the working masses.

## VII

In all Labour Mobilisation for labour purposes as well as in the carrying out of the Subotniki and Vosresniki (free Saturdays and Sundays) the Local Committee must keep strict watch on the conduct of the Party members in accordance with the corresponding instructions. All those who elude in one way or another the fulfilment of their labour duty, are not only to be expelled from the Party organisation, but are also to be entered upon a "black list" so as to prevent them in the future from appointment to any post requiring public confidence.

## VIII

Party propaganda should take an economic direction; it should adopt a more concrete, practical character; it should utilise the work of the Party in the struggle against economic collapse, etc., for the purpose of explaining to the large masses of the people the real nature of Communism.

The Party Press should pay particular attention to questions of an economic organisation character; it should fully, exactly, and concretely reflect the course of industrial life, the success or non-success of individual enterprises, the growth or decrease of productivity of labour, pointing out the particular work or services of individual members of the Party or Groups, and so forth. The Party Press should become a powerful organ for the stimulation of labour enthusiasm and rivalry. Particular attention should be paid to the further development of Party Schools of both the lower and the higher training types for the preparation for participation in the sphere of economic administration.

The Central Committee should elaborate an educational curriculum and a more or less approximate programme for similar Schools, paying particular attention to the spreading of elementary technical knowledge and to the utilisation of all technical methods.

The Congress considers it indispensable to increase the work allotted to the Party members in the above-mentioned directions in accordance with the resolution passed at the December All-Russian Party Congress. The Congress considers it desirable to issue a Central Committee Bulletin to serve as a guide for agitation and propaganda.

## IX

In the work of distributing economic organisation activity amongst the Party members, the Party organisation should in no case attempt to replace the Soviets or in any way whatever attempt to compete with them. The whole work of the Party organs in this sphere should be carried on through the

corresponding Soviet organs. The inter-relations between the Party organisation and the Soviets are to be dominated strictly by the policy set forth in the Party Resolutions of the Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party, in the Party Code of Regulations and in the Resolutions passed at the recent All-Russian Congress of the Russian Communist Party.

## X

The Congress calls the attention of the Party organisation to the necessity of increasing the organisation and propaganda work amongst the peasantry, and especially amongst the agricultural proletariat, preparing and selecting for this work special cadres of trained workers.

## XI

For the purpose of achieving a uniform construction in the local organisation of their Sections, the Central Committee should, in addition to the Party Regulations, elaborate a single scheme for the establishment of local organisations with exact definitions of their problems and tasks and their inter-relation with the Party Committees.

## XII

The Party Committees are to unite all the Party Work of a given territory. All the Party Members of a Group in a certain territory are to form part of the corresponding Party Regions enjoying all the rights and bearing all the responsibility of all members. Amalgamations of Party members under any other system, whilst remaining at the same time under the control of the Central Committee—as is the case with the chief section of the Political Propaganda of Ways and Communication—are permissible only in exceptional cases under a special Regulation of the Central Committee. In such cases there should be established the closest contact possible between the organ which is being created and the Local Party Committee in such a manner that the Local Party Committee appoints a candidate to act as the superintendent of a section of a similar Party organ. The Central Committee of the latter enjoys the privileges of confirmation or rejection. The Party Committee also enjoys the right of expressing its opinion in favour of rejection, but does not enjoy the right of independent rejection. The necessity is recognised for appointing as superintendent a person belonging to the Local Committee. In the event of the creation of such an organ the Local Committee retains the right of disposing of the members who have been registered for work at a certain Political Section, with, however, the consent of the latter. The Political Section disposes of its members only with the consent of the Party Committee.

## XIII

The Congress entrusts the Central Committee with the elaboration of the plan of its work in such a way as to:—

- 1 Enlarge the number of Secretaries by introducing three members of the Central Committee who are to take up permanent work of the said character;
- 2 To transfer to the above Board of Secretaries all the immediate questions of organisation and of an executive character, retaining an Organisation Bureau of five members of the Central Committee which is also to act as the general guide of its activity.

## XIV

The Congress finds it necessary once more to confirm the rule that all the Soviet work of the Party members in the provinces as well as in the centre is to be guided by an undeviating fulfilment of the Resolutions of the Seventh Congress of Soviets regarding Soviet construction.



In places where an Oblast Economic Bureau is established, the Central Committee may form an Oblast Party Bureau for the purpose of enlarging and combining the Party work in the said economic region.

The Congress entrusts the Central Committee with the task of elaborating instructions for Party Regulations.

All material that concerns Soviet construction is to be handed over to the Communist fraction of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

## THE ADOPTION OF THE MILITIA SYSTEM

1 The approach of the end of the civil war and the favourable changes in the international position of Soviet Russia bring forward the question of radical changes in our military system in view of the immediate economic and cultural needs of the country.

2 On the other hand, it is necessary to be quite clear that so long as the Imperialist bourgeoisie are in power in most of the important States, the Socialist Republic can, under no circumstances, consider itself out of all danger.

The further course of events is likely once more to press the Imperialists, who are continually losing ground, upon roads of deplorable adventure directed against Soviet Russia.

Hence arises the necessity for the maintenance of our military system on a proper scale for the purpose of protecting the Revolution.

3 In the present transition period, which is likely to be of long duration, the organisation of military forces must be of such a nature as to assure for all the workers the necessary military training without interference with productive labour. Only the Red Worker-Peasant Militia, which is to be built on territorial lines, can achieve the desired result.

4 The essence of the Soviet Militia System is to consist in linking up the Army with the processes of production, with a view to making the live power of a definite economic region also the live power of the local military detachments.

5 The Territorial divisions of the Militia Section of Regiments, Brigades and Divisions should coincide with the territorial industrial position in such a manner that the hearths of industry and the agricultural localities related with them form a basis for Militia Sections.

6 The organisation of the Worker-Peasant Militia is based on politically, militarily and technically fully-trained cadres; these cadres are to keep a registration and control of all those workers and peasants trained by them, whom it is possible at any moment to draft into militia districts, to equip, put under bayonet, and lead into battle.

7 The transition to the Militia System must necessarily be gradual and independent of the war and the international and diplomatic position of the Soviet Republic, with the strict understanding, however, that the System retains its full capacity for protecting the Republic.

8 With the gradual demobilisation of the Red Army, its best Sections are to be used in the manner most suitable to the local industrial and general conditions of life, and which will tend to secure an apparatus ready for the administration of the Militia Sections.

9 The personal staff of the Militia Sections is later on to obtain fresh powers by means of a close connection with the economic life of a given Region. This can be effected by the Commanding Staff of a Division situated on a certain territory, which embraces a group of, let us say, mining works with an

adjacent rural district, being formed of the best elements of the local proletariat.

10 For the purposes of the above-mentioned renewing of Sections, courses of study for the Commanding Staff should be territorily distributed in correspondence with the Economic Military Districts, these courses are to be passed by the best representatives of the local workers and the peasants.

11 Military training on militia lines, which is to secure a high fighting capacity in the Militia Army, is to consist:—

(a) Of a preliminary training; in this direction the Military Authorities work hand in hand with the Education Authorities, with the Trade Unions, Party Organisations, the Union of Youths, Sporting Institutions, and others.

(b) Of the military training of the citizens of military service age; the period of this training is to be gradually shortened and the training itself is to bear the character of a military political school.

(c) Of short repeated periods of service, the aims of which are to maintain the fighting capacity of the Military Sections.

12 The organisation of Militia Sections for the military protection of the country should be adapted to a sufficient degree for Labour Service—*i.e.*, the Sections should be able to form Labour Detachments and supply them with necessary instructions and apparatus.

13 Developing in the direction of an Armed Communist Nation, the Militia, in its present period, should preserve in its organisations all the traits of Proletarian Dictatorship.

### WORK AMONG WOMEN WORKERS

Taking into consideration the significance of the participation of the workers and peasant women in the Party work and of the rôle which the working-class women and the women of the poorer sections of the peasantry take in the economic life and in the construction of the Soviet Republic, especially in connection with the immediate question of the struggle against the industrial and food disorganisation, public feeding, education, and the struggle against illiteracy, and so forth—the Ninth All-Russian Congress of the Communist Party of Bolsheviks considers all work amongst the women proletariat as a question of immediate importance and as a necessary part of the general work of the Party.

The Ninth All-Russian Congress proposes to all Government (Provincial) Committees, Uyezd Committees and Communist Groups that they should pay the most serious attention to, and take a most active part in, the work amongst women workers and peasants. Women's Sections in connection with our Party Committees should be constituted wherever such have not yet been formed, and the work in those where they exist enlarged in compliance with the instruction of the Central Committee; all responsible organisers and superintendents in such sections are to be selected from amongst the best Party members.

Congress proposes to all Local Party organisations that they should carry on propaganda amongst women workers in Trade Unions to attract them to Labour Service and to participation in the Communist Subotniki (Saturdays).

The Congress points out the necessity of abolishing illiteracy amongst women workers by establishing Schools for Adults, Reading-Rooms and Meetings on questions of the day.

A serious attitude towards the work amongst the Women's Sections of the proletariat of the town and country, and the active participation in it of all the members of the Party, will increase the ranks of the Party, and will infuse into it fresh forces and new workers and fighters in every sphere of Soviet construction and for the realisation of the Communist System.

## APPEAL OF THE NINTH CONGRESS TO THE LOCAL ORGANISATIONS OF THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The state of Transport is still menacing. The Mobilisation of Communists has produced up to the present time only 1,000 men instead of the required 5,000. It is observed that the local organisations do not always send their most experienced organisers and trusted Communists for Transport work.

The Congress of the Russian Communist Party most insistently reminds all local organisations of their duty towards the Railway Transport, on which depends the fate of the Revolution.

1 The Central Committee demand that the full number of 5,000 Communists should be mobilised within the forthcoming fortnight.

2 The Party Committee should place its best members at the disposal of the Chief Section of the Political Propaganda of the Railways.

3 The Party Committee should support the above Section, and its local organs, in their activity for the improvement of Railway Transport.

A. KENUKIDZE,

*Secretary of the Ninth Congress of the Russian Communist Party.*



## APPENDIX II

### *The Extraordinary Commission*

The October Revolution was barely a month old before Counter-Revolutions began, and in December, 1917, the Extraordinary Commission was established "to carry on the merciless struggle against those trying to overthrow the Soviet system: against sabotage, banditage, espionage and speculation."

*Statement by Vice-Chairman of the Extraordinary Commission in an Interview on May 27, 1920.*

The Advisory Board of the Extraordinary Commission is composed of fifteen members of the Communist Party, there being in addition spread throughout the country a staff of 4,500 workers assisted by every member of the Party who considers it a duty to inform the Commission of any acts inimical to the Government. The successive interventions of Denikin, Koltchak, and Yudenitch and their subsequent defeats supplied the Extraordinary Commission with evidence of the complicity of members of the Socialist Revolutionary and Menshevik Parties. At a time when all was chaos and confusion, the Extraordinary Commission dealt drastically with these counter-revolutionaries as being the greatest menace to the Revolution.

In these counter-revolutions all sections opposed to the Maximalists were involved, but they were manipulated largely by the spies of Foreign Governments. A foreign spy formed the "Tactical Centre," which contains parties from the Extreme right to the left Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks. There was a similar organisation in Denikin's area, and both were in constant communication with each other. The Commission got photographic plates containing eighty-four pages of information on the position of Soviet Russia. The case of the "Tactical Centre" will soon appear before the Courts. In connection with the case, there were no British subjects in Moscow, and in Petrograd the members were sentenced long ago.

Experiences of this nature led to a gradual suppression of liberty of all organisations opposed to the existing Government, not only were organisations like the "Tactical Centre" and the Union of Romanoffs disbanded, but with every fresh intervention on the part of the Allies the number of preventative arrests increased. At the beginning of the Polish offensive, arrests were made of members of the Centrosioius, not because they were co-operators, but because they were members of the Executive of the Socialist Revolutionary Party.<sup>1</sup>

Le-Java states that "in spite of these facts he does not know of any co-operator who has been shot; some have been arrested, and some are awaiting trial. The whole matter will be reported to the Co-operative Congress, which is to meet some time in July.

On May 27, Miss Bondfield had a private conversation in her room with Ulianinsky, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Co-operative Union, a Social Revolutionary opposed to the present Communist Government. He stated that Goetz, a Social Revolutionary, had been arrested, probably as a precautionary measure. Some who had been arrested eighteen months ago were still in prison. Three members of the old Board were also in prison.

(1) "When the Government required the Co-operative Societies to start the new form of organisation, the Right Wing were still political enemies, some were forced to resign, some resigned voluntarily, some accepted the new plan. Nevertheless, a certain number of their members were guilty of definite acts of sabotage and treachery to the Government."

*Interview with Le-Java, Chairman Centrosyoyu, June 2, 1920.*

Ulianinsky emphasised the fact that much as he desired to see modification in the Communist methods, particularly in regard to freedom of speech and of the Press, he was convinced that the counter-revolutionary co-operators had changed their views and that they and the Mensheviks were now solid in regard to the futility of intervention.

After the Yudenitch defeat, the Extraordinary Commission had its powers considerably curtailed. The Board unanimously decided to apply for its abolition and a decree was issued abolishing capital punishment.

The Extraordinary Commission have no longer any right to give sentences of death; since the Polish offensive, however, the Government have had to place certain towns under martial law, and in those places civil and military tribunals have the right to impose sentence of death. These tribunals hold open sittings at which anyone can be present, as far as accommodation allows.

With regard to executions, it was stated that 8,500 persons have been shot during the existence of the Extraordinary Commission. These include those shot at the rear of the armies and at insurrections, officers who were sons of landlords and capitalists charged with assisting the counter-revolution.

"Members of organisations having as their object the overthrow of the revolutionaries by armed force, were liable to arrest by virtue of their membership—e.g., 'The Order of the Romanoffs,' 'The Tactical Centre,' but no action is taken against persons who may be arrested for the propaganda of ideas. Those who are proved to be unconscious of an intention to use armed forces are liberated."<sup>1</sup>

The Extraordinary Commission is a temporary institution and is the product of counter-revolution and of intervention; it has no permanent place in the political or economic plan for the development of Soviet Russia. The action of other countries will determine how soon it can be abandoned.<sup>1</sup>

The sinister part played by our own Foreign Office, and particularly by Mr. Winston Churchill, has made it very difficult for the Russians to believe that the representatives of the Labour and Trade Union Movements were unaware of the extent to which the British Government is responsible for the series of Counter-Revolutions.

The document recently published, which we brought back from Moscow giving General Golovin's account of his interview with Mr. Churchill, is merely corroborative evidence of this policy. We are satisfied not only from the interviews with official persons at the Foreign Office, but from many interviews and conversations with friends and opponents of the existing Government, that the suppression of personal freedom, the activities of the Extraordinary Commission, the suppression of the Press and the general hardening into a Dictatorship by the Moscow Executive are largely the fruits of the Entente Policy towards Russia.

Lenin, in an interview on May 26, 1920, frankly stated "there would be no freedom either of press or speech for the enemies of the Revolution—war is war, and no quarter can be given while the Revolution was being attacked by its enemies from within and without."

(<sup>1</sup>) Statement of Vice-Chairman of Extraordinary Commission.

## *A Contradiction*

Seeing that M. Xenophontoff, of the secret police ("Extraordinary Commission"), made an assertion to-day to our British comrades that the "Union of the Renaissance of Russia" and the so-called "tactical centre" were organised by all the anti-Bolshevist parties from the Monarchists to the Social Democrats and Social-Revolutionaries, I feel myself obliged categorically to contradict this statement of the said police official as being a deliberate lie.

Far from taking part in the foundation of the "Union of the Renaissance of Russia," the Social Democratic Party (Menshevist) has frequently published its decisions in the Soviet papers (the first in the autumn of 1918 and the last in July, 1919), according to which any Social Democrat who personally takes part in the "Union" or in any similar organisation is thereby excluded from the Party.

The cynical lie of M. Xenophontoff is only a further proof of the complete demoralisation of the Bolshevist police, whose bloody dictatorship dishonours revolutionary Russia.

(Signed)

L. MARTOFF,

*The President of the Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party,*

*July 27, 1920.*



## *Rules for the Election of The Moscow Soviet*

SANCTIONED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE MOSCOW SOVIET ON  
FEBRUARY 9, 1920

[ From the *Evening News* of the Moscow Soviet of Deputies of Workmen and Red Army Soldiers, February 14, 1920. ]

### *I.—THE RIGHT TO VOTE*

The right to vote and to be elected to the Soviet independently of sex, religion, nationality and domicile is possessed by every citizen, aged eighteen, earning his living by productive and socially useful work and not employing others with a view to deriving benefit from their work, such as:—

- 1 Workmen and employees in factories, industrial and municipal establishments and railways of the Moscow region;
- 2 Soldiers of the Red Army and policemen of Moscow;
- 3 Workmen in the building and transport trades;
- 4 Workmen and employees in hospitals and medical institutions (doctors, nurses, servants, etc.);
- 5 House workmen (porters, furnacemen, servants, firemen, plumbers);
- 6 Employees in Soviet institutions and in business establishments;
- 7 People engaged in education, the arts and literature.

NOTE.—Those who are deprived of this right by the 65th article of the Constitution of the Russian Federative Soviet Socialist Republic are:—

- (a) People employing the work of others with a view to deriving benefit therefrom;
- (b) People living on a revenue which is not earned by their personal work, such as interest from capital, rents, business revenues, etc.;
- (c) Tradesmen and commercial agents;
- (d) Monks and priests of every religion;
- (e) Employees and agents of the ancient Police, special Corps of Gendarmerie and Secret Service, and the members of the family which has reigned in Russia;
- (f) People recognised by due process as mad or idiotic and people who are under wardship;
- (g) People condemned for infamous crimes and misdemeanours.

### *II.—ELECTORAL PROCEDURE*

- 1 Elections are conducted under the direction and control of the Central Electoral Commission, appointed by the Moscow Soviet, and one of the five Members of the Local Electoral Commissions is appointed by the Executive Committees of the Local Soviets.
- 2 Elections are conducted in the factories, industrial, municipal, and railway enterprises, Trade Unions, Red Army units by General Meetings called by the Factory Committees, Boards of Trade Unions, Commissioners of the Army units and by Special Electoral Meetings called by the Central or Local Electoral Commissions.
- 3 The election day is announced:
  - (a) In factories and enterprises by a Special Notice fixed at least 24 hours before the Elections; and
  - (b) In Trade Unions by the announcement in the newspapers at least three days beforehand.

- 4 The Election Day must be announced at least 24 hours beforehand by the Central and Local Electoral Commission.
- 5 Electoral Meetings are valid when at least one-third of the electors are present. If this cannot be obtained, a second Meeting is called, which is considered as valid whatever be the number of electors present.
- 6 Electors vote for Lists of Candidates, which must be announced at least 24 hours beforehand. These Lists of Candidates are presented by groups of electors to the Factory Committees or Trade Unions.
- 7 Records of the proceedings of the Elections must be taken and sent to the Local Electoral Commission signed and sealed by the Factory Committee, or the Military Commissioner, or the Chairman and Secretary of the Meeting.
- 8 Candidates who have secured the majority of votes are considered as elected to the Moscow Soviet.
- 9 Voting is open.

### III.—REPRESENTATION

- 1 Workmen and employees of factories, railways, tramways, electricity, sewage, waterworks, hospitals, ambulances elect their representatives at the place where they are working in the following proportion:  
Enterprises where there are from 100—500 workmen: one representative;  
over 500 workers: one representative for every 500 workmen.
- 2 Transport workmen elect at their respective garages, parks, offices.  
NOTE.—Enterprises where there are less than 100 workmen combine in order to be able to elect a member to the Moscow Soviet.
- 3 House and building workmen, firemen, artisans elect at Special Election Meetings called by the Local Electoral Commissions, one representative for each 500 persons present at the meeting.
- 4 Soviet employees, clerks, business employees, people working in education, the arts and literature elect at their respective Trade Unions at Special Electoral Meetings one representative for every 500 persons present at the meeting.
- 5 The Moscow Council of Trade Unions sends to the Soviet one representative from every 5,000 members.
- 6 Trade Unions enrolled in the Moscow Council of Trade Unions and having not less than 2,000 members elect two representatives to the Soviet.
- 7 Army units counting from 100 to 500 soldiers elect one representative; over 500—one from every 500. A fraction of over 200 enables to have an additional representative.

# APPENDIX IV

## *The Plenum Assembly of the Moscow Soviet as Elected in February, 1920*

| SEX  |    |    |    |    |      |    |      |         |
|--|----|----|----|----|------|----|------|---------|
| Men .. .. .  | .. | .. | .. | .. | ..   | .. | 1399 | 91.32 % |
| Women .. .. .  | .. | .. | .. | .. | ..   | .. | 133  | 8.68 %  |
| AGE  |    |    |    |    |      |    |      |         |
| From 18 to 20 .. .. .  | .. | .. | .. | .. | ..   | .. | 41   | 2.67 %  |
| „ 21 to 25 .. .. .   | .. | .. | .. | .. | ..   | .. | 210  | 13.70 % |
| „ 26 to 30 .. .. .   | .. | .. | .. | .. | ..   | .. | 505  | 32.96 % |
| „ 31 to 35 .. .. .   | .. | .. | .. | .. | ..   | .. | 389  | 25.39 % |
| „ 36 to 40 .. .. .   | .. | .. | .. | .. | ..   | .. | 203  | 13.25 % |
| „ 41 to 45 .. .. .   | .. | .. | .. | .. | ..   | .. | 112  | 7.31 %  |
| „ 46 to 50 .. .. .   | .. | .. | .. | .. | ..   | .. | 51   | 3.32 %  |
| „ 51 and over .. .. .  | .. | .. | .. | .. | ..   | .. | 21   | 1.37 %  |
| FAMILY CONDITION   |    |    |    |    |      |    |      |         |
| Married .. .. .  | .. | .. | .. | .. | ..   | .. | 1168 | 76.24 % |
| Single men and unmarried women .. .. .                         | .. | .. | .. | .. | ..   | .. | 342  | 22.32 % |
| Widowers and Widows .. .. .                                    | .. | .. | .. | .. | ..   | .. | 22   | 1.44 %  |
| EDUCATION  |    |    |    |    |      |    |      |         |
| Elementary .. .. .   | .. | .. | .. | .. | ..   | .. | 1110 | 72.45 % |
| Middle .. .. .   | .. | .. | .. | .. | ..   | .. | 276  | 18.02 % |
| Higher .. .. .   | .. | .. | .. | .. | ..   | .. | 146  | 9.53 %  |
| NATIONALITY  |    |    |    |    |      |    |      |         |
| Russians .. .. .   | .. | .. | .. | .. | ..   | .. | 1373 | 89.62 % |
| <i>Other nationalities part of the former Russian Empire:—</i> |    |    |    |    |      |    |      |         |
| Jews .. .. .   | .. | .. | .. | .. | 63   | }  | 154  | 10.05 % |
| Letts .. .. .  | .. | .. | .. | .. | 46   |    |      |         |
| Poles .. .. .  | .. | .. | .. | .. | 32   |    |      |         |
| Armenians .. .. .  | .. | .. | .. | .. | 8    |    |      |         |
| Georgians .. .. .  | .. | .. | .. | .. | 2    |    |      |         |
| Ukrainians .. .. .   | .. | .. | .. | .. | 3    |    |      |         |
| <i>Remainder:—</i>   |    |    |    |    |      |    |      |         |
| Germans .. .. .  | .. | .. | .. | .. | 3    | }  | 5    | 0.33 %  |
| Greeks .. .. .   | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1    |    |      |         |
| Swiss .. .. .  | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1    |    |      |         |
| PARTIES  |    |    |    |    |      |    |      |         |
| <i>Russian Communist Party:</i>                                |    |    |    |    |      |    |      |         |
| Communists .. .. .   | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1220 | }  | 1320 | 86.16 % |
| Candidates (for Party) .. .. .                                 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 50   |    |      |         |
| Sympathisers .. .. .   | .. | .. | .. | .. | 50   |    |      |         |
| <i>Other Parties:</i>  |    |    |    |    |      |    |      |         |
| Mensheviks .. .. .   | .. | .. | .. | .. | 40   | }  | 46   | 3.00 %  |
| Anarchists .. .. .   | .. | .. | .. | .. | 3    |    |      |         |
| Independent Socialists .. .. .                                 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1    |    |      |         |
| United Jewish Socialists .. .. .                               | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1    |    |      |         |
| Maximalists .. .. .  | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1    |    |      |         |
| <i>Non-Party</i> .. .. .                                       | .. | .. | .. | .. | ..   | .. | 166  | 10.84 % |



# PROFESSIONS

Workers .. .. . 1146 74.80 %

## Non-Workers:

### Mental Work:

|                      |    |     |        |
|----------------------|----|-----|--------|
| Clerks .. .. .       | 87 | 136 | 8.88 % |
| Doctors .. .. .      | 17 |     |        |
| Litterateurs .. .. . | 13 |     |        |
| Teachers .. .. .     | 11 |     |        |
| Students .. .. .     | 8  |     |        |

### Physical and Mental Work:

|                                   |    |     |         |
|-----------------------------------|----|-----|---------|
| Junior Clerks .. .. .             | 81 | 250 | 16.32 % |
| Mechanics and Technical Engineers | 75 |     |         |
| Railway Employees .. .. .         | 52 |     |         |
| Commercial Clerks .. .. .         | 42 |     |         |

# PERSECUTED FOR REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITY

## Tried for Political Activity:

|                             |     |     |         |
|-----------------------------|-----|-----|---------|
| Once .. .. .                | 204 | 366 | 23.89 % |
| Twice .. .. .               | 75  |     |         |
| Three or more times .. .. . | 87  |     |         |

## Emigrated:

|                                |    |    |        |
|--------------------------------|----|----|--------|
| One year .. .. .               | 5  | 53 | 3.46 % |
| From one to five years .. .. . | 31 |    |        |
| Over five years .. .. .        | 17 |    |        |

## Imprisoned:

|                                |     |     |         |
|--------------------------------|-----|-----|---------|
| One year .. .. .               | 187 | 293 | 19.12 % |
| From one to five years .. .. . | 99  |     |         |
| Over five years .. .. .        | 7   |     |         |

## Deported:

|                                |    |     |        |
|--------------------------------|----|-----|--------|
| One year .. .. .               | 12 | 107 | 6.98 % |
| From one to five years .. .. . | 88 |     |        |
| Over five years .. .. .        | 7  |     |        |

## Exiled on the "Catorga":

|                                |   |    |        |
|--------------------------------|---|----|--------|
| One year .. .. .               | 1 | 10 | 0.65 % |
| From one to five years .. .. . | 6 |    |        |
| Over five years .. .. .        | 3 |    |        |

# TRADE UNION REPRESENTATION

|                              |    |    |    |      |         |
|------------------------------|----|----|----|------|---------|
| Soviet Institution Employees | .. | .. | .. | 140  | 9.15 %  |
| Metal Workers                | .. | .. | .. | 121  | 7.90 %  |
| Railwaymen                   | .. | .. | .. | 116  | 7.57 %  |
| Textile                      | .. | .. | .. | 72   | 4.70 %  |
| Medical                      | .. | .. | .. | 60   | 3.91 %  |
| Municipal                    | .. | .. | .. | 51   | 3.33 %  |
| Product Manufacturers        | .. | .. | .. | 44   | 2.87 %  |
| Printers                     | .. | .. | .. | 44   | 2.87 %  |
| Nourishment Workers          | .. | .. | .. | 41   | 2.68 %  |
| Leather Workers              | .. | .. | .. | 41   | 2.68 %  |
| Dress and Tailors            | .. | .. | .. | 40   | 2.61 %  |
| Local Transport              | .. | .. | .. | 39   | 2.55 %  |
| Chemists                     | .. | .. | .. | 31   | 2.02 %  |
| Transport and Communication  | .. | .. | .. | 28   | 1.83 %  |
| Builders                     | .. | .. | .. | 26   | 1.70 %  |
| Educational                  | .. | .. | .. | 15   | 0.98 %  |
| Tobacco Workers              | .. | .. | .. | 12   | 0.78 %  |
| Druggists                    | .. | .. | .. | 7    | 0.46 %  |
| Finance Workers              | .. | .. | .. | 7    | 0.46 %  |
| Wood Workers                 | .. | .. | .. | 7    | 0.46 %  |
| Glass and China              | .. | .. | .. | 6    | 0.39 %  |
| Water Transport              | .. | .. | .. | 6    | 0.39 %  |
| Domestic Workers             | .. | .. | .. | 5    | 0.33 %  |
| Agricultural Workers         | .. | .. | .. | 3    | 0.19 %  |
| Art Workers                  | .. | .. | .. | 3    | 0.19 %  |
| Firemen                      | .. | .. | .. | 2    | 0.13 %  |
| Headdressers                 | .. | .. | .. | 1    | 0.07 %  |
| Total                        |    |    |    | 968  | 63.18 % |
| Not in Unions                | .. | .. | .. | 388  | 25.32 % |
| Not Stated                   | .. | .. | .. | 176  | 11.50 % |
| Full Membership of Soviet    |    |    |    | 1532 | 100 %   |

## *The Printers' Meeting at Moscow and the Printers' Trade Union*

DOCUMENTS EDITED BY L. HADEN GUEST

On May 23, 1920, a meeting of Printers and others was held in Moscow, at which Messrs. Purcell, Skinner and Wallhead attended on behalf of the British Labour Delegation. The meeting was a very large one of some thousands, held in one of the largest public buildings in Moscow.

At this meeting M. Tchernoff, a leader of the Social Revolutionary party, spoke from the platform without giving his name (he was "wanted" by the Secret Police on a political charge), but in response to tremendous applause and shouts for his name, came down to the front of the platform, at the conclusion of the speech, and announced: "I am Tchernoff." The meeting sprang to its feet and cheered. Tchernoff then escaped, while the entrances to the hall were guarded to prevent pursuit. Members of the Delegation spoke, and amongst others, M. A. Kefali, whose speech follows.

*Speech of A. KEFALI at Printers' Meeting—May 23, 1920.*

I welcome our guests, the English Socialists, in the name of the Central Committee of the Russian Socialist Democratic Labour Party. It is particularly gratifying to me to bid them welcome in this assembly of many thousands of workmen, and especially in a meeting of printers. Our comrades have spoken here and pointed out the fact that Russian printers, and particularly those of Moscow, have been the pioneers of the Trade Union Movement in Russia; but it has not been mentioned that these same printers, and again especially the Moscow printers, have also been the initiators of the great Russian Revolution of 1905, that dates its beginning from the general strike of Moscow printers. It has not been mentioned that these same printers have been the founders of the Russian Soviets, for the first Russian Soviets, those of 1905, grew out of the Board of Syndics of the Moscow printers that had been founded here during the general strike of 1905. Those who stand here before our English comrades, are not those counter-revolutionaries, those despicable shopkeepers who have been denounced; not those workmen who have turned their backs on the revolution, as has been said; here, I say it again, are the founders of all Trade Union revolutionary and socialistic movements in Russia and of the Russian Soviet organisation. We welcome our English comrades, not, indeed, as coroners and infallible judges who must deliver a sentence upon our differences; we welcome in them the representatives of the powerful working class of England, called to play a prominent—possibly a chief part—in this socialistic upheaval. This ruin of capitalism and the inauguration of Socialism have been prepared by all the previous history of capitalism, and its coming was extraordinarily hastened by the crimes of the universal slaughter. This universal slaughter has ruined all European continental countries; it has sapped the foundations of the economic power of Germany, whose working class had been, till then, at the head of the revolutionary movement; it has transplanted the centre of economic life to other countries, more especially to England and America. And wherever the centre of all economic life lies, the working class of such a country must inevitably put to the front the international movement of the proletariat against capitalism, in the cause of Socialism. We are sure, therefore, that the English working class is destined to play this prominent part, and that the day will come when it will break through and overthrow the wall of the capitalistic stronghold; and we believe that our English comrades, together with the Russian working masses—now



strengthened by the experience of revolution—and the workmen of the whole world will, unanimously and in good order, enter the regular way leading to the reign of Socialism, to which we aspire with all the fibres of our soul.

Our English comrades have seen in this hall an assembly of many thousands of workers. One orator has said here that this assembly is a great novelty. It is possibly true as concerns the majority, but I must say that for the printers, such a general assembly is not a novelty, though many workmen's meetings take place now in Moscow; but this I will tell our English comrades, that no other Trade Union excepting that of the printers (not any of the Trade Unions that suffered defeat in that strife for independence and have become direct organs of the state), I affirm that not one Trade Union can convoke such a gathering as this. They can convoke an assembly, and exhibit to the English men leaders of the movement, delegates, factory committees, seemingly elected dignitaries. They can also display before them those numbers of the Union members that exist on paper, but if they show them both, it will reveal to our English comrades the glaring fact of a complete dissonance between the views of official, seemingly elected, dignitaries, and those of the great working masses, by whom it is said the same dignitaries have been chosen. One may exhibit a sitting of the Moscow Soviet, consisting exclusively of Communists; one may show a sitting of the Russian Central Board of Trade Unions, consisting exclusively of Communists, but one cannot show a single free workmen's meeting that will have a Communist majority. This fact, comrades, is highly instructive, and not because it solves our differences, but because it introduces in the history of Socialism the substance of the problem that must be solved by the Proletariat, and not only here in Russia, but in all the world, on the international scale. Comrade Wallhead has said here: "We have before us a beautiful hall, built by the enforced toil of your ancestors; the Proletarian revolution has thrown open the doors of this hall, and that which was built by your ancestors, has become the inheritance of the Proletariat, and in this hall, erected stone by stone at the bidding of capital, our assembly is now convoked. It is a great conquest of the revolution." But this conquest is not unique; we can boast many more, and I shall try to draw Comrade Wallhead's attention to another one. Here, at this meeting, are gathered the Moscow printers, who stand before composing machines, before rolls of rotatory paper, before reams of flat paper, in all the printing establishments; that work every day in colossal printing works and give all their strength to this work: well, this Proletariat of printers cannot, under the contemporary socialistic organisation in Russia, profit for itself, neither by the type, nor by the printing machines, nor by the paper, as it would like to do. Here are thousands of Moscow printers, behind whom stand scores of thousands of Moscow and other Russian workmen who, at the epoch of the Russian Revolution, under a government that calls itself a workmen's government—a government realising its socialistic programme, a government calling Socialism to life, a government annihilating the parasitic classes—those thousands of Moscow printers, I say, and behind them scores and hundreds of thousands of Russian workmen, have all of them under this government no right to vote, no right to assemble, no right to print. As in the time of the Czar's government, the printers are forced to print, not their own thoughts, but calumnies against themselves.

I think the fact that our English comrades introduce is extremely instructive.

Comrades, I myself am anxious to conclude, because our English comrades are in haste. This leads up to the point which shows how Socialism is realised by our government. They will see the system by which government realises Socialism; they will see the method by which government realises power by means of the dictatorship of the minority, by means of the dictatorship of one party, by means of forcible measures, wherever real life and socio-economic

relationships do not allow of advance by seven league paces. That is the first system—the system of the dictatorship of the minority.

Our English comrades will see where it leads to; they will see that the dictatorship of the minority directed against the ruling classes has led to the dictatorship of the minority directed against the workmen themselves. Another system on which our party is founded says that the dictatorship of workingmen must be realised, by expressing the will and the self-reliant activity of the majority of the Proletariat, the majority of working men, whatever might be this majority, and to-day it must be realised, just in this way, I say it again, by the majority of all working masses. When at the head stand a minority cut off from the masses, it inevitably loses all contact with reality. In stepping on the way of resistance to reality, the government begins by striking at its enemies, and ends by striking at those on whom alone could be founded the Socialist Commonwealth.

There are two ways, and it is not only I, but all international Socialism, that will have to choose by which way the working-class movement will go to Socialism. One way is the way of democracy of working men; the way of raising the level of production; of voluntary self-reliant activity, self-discipline of the masses. This way is, in our opinion, the only way that can lead—and will inevitably lead—to the triumph of Socialism; while the other ruinous way is the way of the deprivation of the working masses themselves of every right and liberty, the way of transforming the working masses into a scattered human herd, submitted to benevolent dictators, benevolent specialists of socialism, who drive men in this paradise by means of a stick.

There are two ways: and it is not to see ourselves justified and the maximalists sentenced (I say it again—we do not see judges in our English comrades), it is in the interests of the success of the struggle for Socialism that we draw attention to the important fact of this gathering and its views in relation to the “Workers’ and Peasants’ Socialist Soviet Government,” as a fact that sets before all Socialists the problem of the victory of Socialism and the ways that lead to it.

I conclude my brief report by a new declaration of sympathy for our English comrades, a renewed assurance that the experience Russia has gone through will not have been fruitless, that it will give those whom history has made the leaders of the universal working movement, the opportunity and the strength to follow a right way to Socialism, and put themselves at the head of the universal Proletariat, our own Russian one in the number, in order to storm an entrance by a serious, unanimous attack, to the kingdom of Socialistic work, equality, and fraternity.

## THE INDEPENDENTS AND THE PRESS

The following paper on “The Independents and the Press” gives the views of the Moscow Printers further expression:—

1 In their Press, “Izvesty” and the “Pravda,” they publish all sorts of lies about the Independents whom they deprive at the same time of the possibility of having their own Press. The Moscow Union had its Trade Union organ, the *Printer*, constantly suppressed. Finally, last year it was forbidden under the pretext of paper shortage, but in fact for its anti-Communist tendencies. The Union set up a Sunday neutral paper, whose profits went to help the unemployed. It had to change its name, twice, until it was forbidden by the Government, who had not even the possibility of accusing it, for even a Communist would have found it guiltless. The Communists in doing all this had one aim, to compromise the Independents in the eyes of the working class.

With regard to the printers, this was of no avail. Then they changed their tactics. With the approval of the Russian Central Trade Unions organs, the



Communists broke up the existing unions and founded parallel ones, which received all possible help from the Government, the trade union centres, and from the all-mighty Communist party. In spite of this, the unions organised by the Communists played in fact the part of those unions, which are called yellow in Western Europe and America, but could not destroy the printers' unions even by applying rude physical force. Thus it was in Petrograd in the autumn of 1918, in Chieliabinsk in the spring of 1918, in Saratov several times during two years, in Tambov, Voronej, Tiemen, Orel and several other places. In order to get rid of their adversaries, the Communists used from time to time to arrest, with the help of Extraordinary Commissions, well-known members of printers' Trade Unions, accusing them of counter-revolution. In June, 1918, the Comrade Kefali, who held then the post of secretary to the Russian Printers' Union, was arrested and kept in prison three months without any definite accusation. In Petrograd the better Communists themselves advised M. Bafilowsky, the Chairman of the Printers' Union, to leave town. In Moscow different members of the Independent Unions Board were arrested several times, and during the last three years all of them risked arrest at every possible moment. In Samara the independent head of the Union was arrested; in Saratow, Pashkin, Egorov, and other places, independent members of the Printers' Union were arrested. In Tambov, the chairman of the Local Printers' Union, Satin, was arrested. In Moscow, Bogomostov, Chairman of the Matistev Factory Workers' Committee, and a group of workmen from the Mondley Factory, were arrested for their fidelity to the Printers' Union. In the same factory, under the pressure of the Commissar, the Chairman of the Workers' Factory Committee, M. Griseskowitch was sent to the soldiers' barracks only because he had shown up the criminal activity of the Communist Commissar. Lastly, in March, 1920, there was arranged in Kief a trial, with the same aim as the Ritual murder trials of the Tsarist times. One of the persons found guilty in this trial was one of the most popular printers' leaders, Romanof. The principal accusation was that they were independent and wrote an address to the Western European Proletariat, showing the crimes committed by Communists against the International Workers' movement. It is impossible to record all the cases of printers being arrested by the Government, for the sole reason that they had influence among workmen. Communists sometimes use menaces of arrests against the workers to oblige them to leave their posts in the board of the Union voluntarily, and in practice this often happens. Sometimes they do it otherwise; they say that if a Communist is not elected to the Board or Factory Workers' Committee, they, the Communists, will arrange things so that their workers will receive less food and other necessary things. And sometimes this produces its effect. This affirmation can be verified in a series of factories in Moscow.

When such means have no result, the Communists let the local Soviets or the Central Council of Trade Unions dissolve the Board of the Trade Unions; such was the case with the first Central Board of the Printers' Union.

2 The Independents on principle and in practice, stand on the point of view that both tendencies in Russian Trade Unionism must be represented in the executive organs of the Union proportionally. The Board of the Moscow Printers' Union consists of twenty-five persons, proportionally (7,000: 2,000). Communists have six and Independents twenty-five places. In the presidium there are seven Independents and twelve Communists. In all the Committees, Communists have a place. The Moscow union and provincial unions always acted in this way, when their Boards consisted of Independents. But the contempt of Communists towards universal elections and proportional representation in Trade Unions produced recently amongst the great working



masses such a hatred, that workmen refused to give to Communists a number of places proportional to the votes they have received, demanding of them first the recognition of the principle of general elections and proportional representation and letting them enjoy it only then if they found themselves in a minority.

3 The Independents did not leave the Printers' Congress in August, 1919, they only did not take part in it because during the elections such criminal means were used by the Communists that the printers were misrepresented. In spite of all this, the Communists were not more numerous than the Independents, who had said beforehand that even if they had the minority [? majority—ED.] they would not take part in the Congress for it was adulterated. It is enough to say that on the eve of the Congress, the Secretary of the Communist Party Central Committee sent a telegram all over Russia, so that a Communist majority should be guaranteed at this Congress. Under Russian conditions, this meant that in all the provinces Communists were elected contrary to the will of printers, for the printers are definitely anti-Communists even now. The detailed explanation of the non-participation of printers on this Congress is hereto added. But at the same time, the printers in spite of the compulsory dissolution of the All-Russian Board of the Printers' Union, was the only Union, which, wishing for unity, gave the order not to refuse formally to recognise the new centre elected by Communists at the so-called Congress in August, 1919. All the Printers' Unions where there were independent Boards, and first the Moscow Union, formally recognised the new centre and participated in the All-Russian Printers' Unions, gave the necessary funds, but they think it necessary to fight continually on the ground of ideology and opinions. The Independents demand the convocation of a new Congress, elected by general and secret ballot with proportional representation. While it is not so, and the Communists constantly refuse to grant such election, the Independents will not take any moral responsibility for the All-Russian Printers' Organisation. The Independents are in such a situation that with free elections they would be in the majority, but they are deprived of the possibility to use their right by the dishonest, and, among workmen, inadmissible measures of the Communists.

4 The printers are the forefathers of Russian Trade Unionism, which never believed in a purely professional, narrowly industrial character of its activity. The Independent printers always thought, and now think, that Trade Unions must be the means of realising Socialism. The Independents only think that now in Russia there is every possible dictatorship, except the dictatorship of the Proletariat. The best proof that we are right is that the Russian Government calls itself not Workmen's, but Workmen's and Peasants' Government. † If the dictatorship of the Proletariat were realised, the Communists need not be afraid of a general, secret, equal and direct ballot in the election of Soviets, Trade Unions, Boards and Factory Committees; they need not use menaces and violence against workmen's organisations. We have in Russia a dictatorship, not of the Proletariat but of the Communist Party. The Council of the People's Commissioners and the Soviets Central Executive Committee are only a screen; in fact, all the power belongs to the Communists' Central Committee, and in the provinces to Local Committees. The Independents think that as a result of all this there is not only no real dictatorship of the proletariat, but that the possibility of its realisation is put off. For this reason the Independents consider it as their duty to fight the Communists vigorously.

The following documents record the sequel to the printers' meeting, the arrest of members of the Committee, and the break-up of the Union. The documents were handed to Mr. C. R. Buxton, the last member of the British Labour Delegation to pass through Moscow on June 28, 1920.

## TO THE DELEGATION OF ENGLISH TRADE UNIONS AND SOCIALISTIC LABOUR PARTIES

After the general printers' meeting, at which representatives of English Proletariat were present (Comrades Purcell, Skinner and Wallhead), the State Press (in Russia no other Press exists) began a terrible persecution of the Printers' Union.

Almost openly the leading party, in the person of its different organs, and through its nominated candidates in organs of government, put the question of indispensable repressions against the Printers' Union and arrest of its leaders.

At the same time the questions of wages and printers' rations became acute. Some difficulty on these matters existed between them already before the general meeting of May 23. This difficulty often expressed itself in the form of elementary strikes, that were stopped each time by the Union's Administrative Council. Each time the Communists and the organs of the authority were unable to persuade the workmen to begin to work, threats and repressions could also not help. But the arrival of a representative of the Printers' Union to a factory was sufficient; the conflict ceased immediately. But in their press and organs of government, the Communists put the matter in such a way as though the Moscow Printers' Union instigates the workmen to strikes.

All that obliged the administrative council of the Union to convoke on June 4 a meeting of factories, committees and delegates of all printing institutions of Moscow. After listening to the Administrative Council's report, the meeting approved the following resolution:—

The united meeting of factories committees and delegates of printing institutions of Moscow, after careful examination of the food and the wages position of the Moscow printers, as also questions connected with the precedent, about pursuits, oppressions and persecutions which the whole printers' organisation and individual members responsible for the defence of the workers' interests undergo, declares that:—

(a) Notwithstanding the formal acknowledgement by the organs of government and Trade Union Headquarters of the really obvious fact, that the Moscow printers are in worse conditions than workmen and clerks of other branches of employment—no improvement of the position of printers has, up till now, been noted.

(b) This injustice, which seriously affects large masses of workmen, is more than redoubled by the senseless acts of the Central Committee of the Union of Polygraphic Trades Workers and its economic organs. The incapacity, the inactivity and almost criminal idleness of the latter led the workmen, who at first believed in the possibility of extra wages in the form of premiums, to lose hope. At the beginning, by tremendous efforts, in the incredibly chaotic conditions caused by lack of materials, technical instruments and by bad administration of the enterprises, the printers increased the productivity of labour, but have now lost all hope of getting any advantage by the use of the premium system, and, therefore, a new decrease of productivity of labour is noted.

(c) Payments supplementary to wages (in the form of gifts of products of the trade, and of some very necessary and precious objects of consumption) continue as before in most institutions, enterprises and branches of trade, in quantities completely undermining the food and wages system. As would be expected, not one of the measures taken to fight against this injustice nor decrees about a single labour ration led to anything. And the printers who are not paid with any natural products remained in a pitiful position, getting worse with every day, because of the catastrophic fall of the value of money and the unbearable rise of prices of the products of consumption.

(d) The Moscow printers put many times those questions through their Union, and asked for direct answers from the leading organs of the Government and Trade Union movement, but instead of reasonable answers to their quite equitable and possible requests, they received always greater threats and insults, that ended in a dreadful persecution after the General Printers' meeting of May 23, at which representatives of English workmen were present. In organising that meeting and putting openly all definite questions, the printers realised the liberty of speech and meeting for workers promised by the constitution.

(e) The predominant party, the organs of Government and the Headquarters of the Trade Union Movement that are at their service, are furious with rage that at this meeting the printers exposed to the Englishmen the bitter truth about the position of the working class in Russia unconcealed by any parades or ceremonies. But as they cannot decide themselves to tell it openly they represent the whole matter as if the printers incited strikes, nearly set fire to munition stores, and stopped the work of the country's defence from Polish attack.

(f) All this takes the workmen to the last limit of even human patience, particularly because all this happens under conditions that dictate the urgent necessity of civil peace of the authority with the workmen, peasants and all labour people, when Poland has decided to stifle Russia, when, therefore, a really strong Union of all workers becomes a question of life and death of the whole country.

Following on the statement made above, the meeting of factories, committees and delegates points out that calm and normal conditions of labour in the Printing Trade can only be obtained if (a) the idea of political revenge, arrest of the Union's leaders and repression of the whole organisation ceases completely; (b) if, without delay, the Moscow printers get the Red Army ration and the Simbirsk debt not only for the workmen, but for the members of his family, according to the decree; (c) Permission to travel and for the transport of even a limited quantity of food for those who are released; and (d) the withdrawal of the chaotic arrangements created in the printing trade in connection with premiums.

The appeal to the reason of the masters of the position not having given any results (as in their blindness they are no longer able to speak the same language as the workmen), the meeting therefore declares:—

1 Complete calm must be maintained and all printers be called to active defence of the Union's representatives, if they suffer persecution for their work in the Union, and of the Union itself, if in any form (dissolution, exclusion from the Moscow Council of Trade Unions) repression is imposed on the organisation as a whole.

2 Understanding that even visits undertaken by the Administrative Council and the Factories Committees on certain occasions with the aim of possible improvement of the printers' position is looked upon, by the representatives of the Government and the predominant party, as a capital crime, and that the request of the Administrative Council to workmen of different factories not to use such a dangerous measure as the strike under present conditions was interpreted by the same representatives as a call to strike, they absolve the Administrative Council of any responsibility for any complications or conflicts that may arise until the end of the persecution of the Union.



*RESOLUTION of the Mensheviks concerning the arrest of the Administrative Council of the Printers' Union, Moscow, June, 1920.*

The Central Committee of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (Mensheviks) protests strongly against the destruction of the Moscow Printers' Trade Union and the arrest of its Administrative Council. This destruction was accomplished openly during the visit of Foreign Communists and Socialists with unbelievable harshness and without any apparent reason. The Central Committee considers this an undoubted act of Party vengeance for the attempt to demonstrate before foreign workmen and Socialists the public opinion of one of the best organised Trade Unions of Moscow.

At the same time this destruction of one of the few workers' organisations that had free representation (which destruction was accomplished in an extraordinarily provoking way) appears to be a direct incitement to the workers to strike, in a manner which strengthens the existing economic disorganisation, in order to crush them afterwards by cruel repression.

By this means the predominant Party, without considering the possible consequences of weakening and disorganising the Labour front, and disregarding the opinion of Socialist Europe, has decided to terrorise the workers and compel them once and for all to suppress their own opinion and renounce the freedom of election of their representatives.

The punishment of the Moscow section of the Printers' Trade Union finished the work of destruction of Trades Unions in Russia. But the Central Committee of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party in urging the Printers not to allow this provocation to cause them to withhold their help at this difficult and critical moment for Revolutionary Russia, is, nevertheless, sure that in future the working class in Russia will succeed in protecting the freedom of their organisations.

(Signed)

BORIS SKOUOROVSKY, *Secretary.*

The final document presented is an appeal by M. Kammermacher to the English Delegation and the International Labour Movement.

#### TO THE ENGLISH DELEGATION

The Printers' Trade Union of Moscow was the last Trade Union of workmen that remained true to the principles of independence and self-determination of class of the Trade Unions.

The Printers' Trade Union defended these principles, because a labour organisation can neither be subject to nor assimilate itself with the State organ in conditions, when private property is not abolished, when the State appears as the greatest if not the only contractor, when the system of buying and selling of labour power is fully maintained, in one word, when organs of defence and protection of labour, independent, free from the pressure of other classes, are indispensable.

The whole three years' practice of the Sovietist Government in the domain of labour policy presents a striking example of this idea.

The Printers' Trade Union of Moscow thought it necessary to lead a struggle in ideas concerning the aims of the Proletariat against the economic, political, and organisational monstrosities that were cultivated by the Government.

Because of this position, this struggle by principles, the Communists hated the printers in a way that greatly surpasses their hatred against the bourgeoisie and the expropriated landlords in Russia. So, stretching one hand to counter-revolutionaries like the Czaristic Generals, Brusiloff and Gutor, the Communists stretched the other, armed with all kinds of extraordinary laws, against Socialists, and pressed all their weight upon a group of Proletarians whose only crime consisted in their thinking otherwise than as it is prescribed to them by the predominant party, the Communists.

This group of Proletariats has attained such a size, unbearable to the present masters of the position in Russia, that when the representatives of the English workers appeared in Russia they arranged a General Conference of Printers of Moscow, during which they sang no dithyrambs to the Communistic Party, but during which the veritable truth about life in Russia was declared. The Communists, furious about this Conference, began a persecution of the printers. There existed no lie or calumny before which they stopped to attain their aim. And this aim consisted in preparing public opinion for the severe punishment which they prepared for the Printers' Union. It was not difficult for the Communists to accomplish it, because the printers, like all Russian workers, are deprived of the possibility of printing anything if it displeases the Communists.

For printing the resolution of the General Conference at which English comrades were present, the Comrade Zacharoff was arrested. The State did not give permission to the Printers' Union to print the shorthand report of the Conference. The Independents are also deprived of their own journals and papers.

The Communists decided to punish the printers severely, but they were not able to oppose to the printers the opinion of workmen or clerks of any other industries at a free conference at which both standpoints, the one of the Communists and the opposition, could fight honestly, as the party of Government would have suffered a defeat. That is the reason why they were counselled to employ the method of isolated conferences of different institutions, so-called representation of the Proletariat, because true representation has not existed in Russia for a long time. At these conferences anathemas were pronounced against the printers. The General Conference of Printers in Petersbourg was arranged, and they, so to say, unanimously passed a thunderlike resolution against the Moscow printers. The value of the unanimity of organised conferences, during which, threatened by the most terrible repressions, the representatives of the Proletariat Opposition are deprived of the possibility of speaking the truth, is well known to every Russian workman. For the same reason, State newspapers circulated the senseless and stupid accusation against the Printers' Trade Union that they arranged strikes. The printers have had less strikes than anyone in Russia, thanks to their firm and solid organisation. Despair pushed workmen of many other branches of production toward strikes, which do wrong in the present conditions in Russia; they were pushed towards it by their hopeless position, in the same way as large numbers of printers of Moscow, but the leaders of the Printers' Union, who at present are arrested, continually checked this movement. At the same time, the economic organs of the Polygraphic production, together with the headquarters of the printers of all Russia, were only busy disturbing and stupidly bothering the workmen; in looking after business only in a formal way, with criminal recklessness in the questions of food and wages and the provision for starving printers, who, in their misery, reached the last limit of human patience. It is quite clear that if anyone arranged strikes of printers, it was certainly not the Administrative Council of the Moscow Printers' Union.

So, during a month, the Communists prepared public opinion and, with the help of their monopoly, lied and calumniated without punishment. At last, on the night of June 17-18, they arrested all the members of the Administrative Council, those who occupied leading places in the Trade Union, with the exception of those who had the time to conceal themselves. On the morning of June 18, the office of the Trade Union was occupied by the armed forces of the State, and all those who had for any reason displeased the Communists were arrested there.

There is no doubt that this new grand act of oppression against the working class has thoroughly irritated and antagonised all printers of Moscow, who perfectly understood that the Administrative Council represents the only executive organ of all members of the Trade Union, particularly because the Administrative Council of the Moscow Printers' Union had been elected by universal suffrage, differently from all other Trade Unions and the State Organs.

A part of the workmen ceased work and demanded the liberation of the imprisoned. The masters of the position used against the strikers measures of warfare such as the bourgeoisie of all countries only dream about, but which they had never been able to apply. The privation of food is in the present conditions the most terrible measure against starving people. That was used. At the same time there were arrests of the supposed leaders of the strikers. The one and the other measure attained their aim. The strikers began to work, and, possibly, under the pressure of such measures, they will be soon compelled to invent even resolutions of condemnation against those who have led them till now. But the hatred of the Moscow printers against the authors of this shameful punishment does not decrease, but, on the contrary, grows with every day, and it will be enough for a light breeze of free air to blow to cause these inquisitors to be expelled from the midst of the workers.

Addressing themselves to the members of the English Delegation, the printers on strike declare through them to the International Labour Movement, that, broken by physical force, they address themselves to the only force which possesses a meaning for them—to the moral power of the International Labour Movement. The printers on strike wish to demonstrate, and will know how to demonstrate, to the International Labour Movement that they are in the right, and not the Communists. The printers on strike declare that the new Administrative Council of the Trade Union which has been imposed on them by force has no place and no authority in the eyes of the large masses of the working people; that, on the contrary, all sympathy and all confidence is on the side of those who are in prison—the former leaders of the Trade Union of the Printers of Moscow.

The Bolshevik Government will certainly try to arrange a trial like the ritual murder trial of Beilis that made so much noise in the Czar's time, but the only judges now could be only the printers of Moscow and the International Socialistic Movement. The judgement of the Communist Party can be only a judgement of the interested side, of an adversary that takes the part of judge of his political enemies. But the Bolsheviks do not even understand that. The worse for them. But the Socialist and Labour International will understand it.

The Moscow printers and all the workmen of Russia think thus.

M. KAMMERMACHER (*A. Kefob.*)



## *The World's Social Revolution and the Aims of Social Democracy*

Theses proposed by the Central Committee of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (Mensheviks) to all Marxian Parties as a basis for their joint action.<sup>1</sup>

### THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION

1 The development of the world's Imperialism, which has brought about the catastrophe of the world war, the destruction of empires, the removal of old frontiers, the devastation of Europe and regrouping of masses of the people, creates great possibilities of Social Revolution on an International scale and it will end the era of Capitalism, and introduce the advent of Socialism.

2 These possibilities of Social Revolution have been growing out of existing economical, social and political conditions of life. There is no chance of reconstructing the economic life, utterly shaken by the war, if we try to maintain the form of production, distribution, international exchange and international credit, based on the competition of private capital. It is equally impossible for a capitalistic state to put a stop to such competition and bring about certain regulations of economic life against the interests of the capitalistic classes. Socially, the chance of Social Revolution lies in the fact that the universal war with its consequences has revolutionised the working masses to such an extent that their demands cannot be satisfied otherwise than by means of the most thorough encroachment upon the profits of the capitalists, and by making the capitalists bear the burden of the greater part of the expenditure caused by the war, but so far as the State power belongs to the capitalist class, such a course of action would meet with the greatest possible opposition. Politically, possibilities of the world's Social Revolution lie in such a state of things as was demonstrated during the universal war, when capitalistic States showed a complete inability to establish international relations on the basis of a reliable peace. Capitalistic States could not make these international relations sound in any way or give a guarantee that they would put an end to the unproductive expenditure connected with the preparations for new wars so detrimental to the sound development of the countries concerned.

3 The universal Social Revolution appears to be a very natural outcome of the historical development of the countries economically most advanced and most strikingly embodying the tendencies of present-day Capitalism. The objective possibilities of Social Revolution, as well as the technical, material, and social factors essential for the realisation of the task, which lies before the Social Revolution, have been quite mature in those countries. But in the course of the development of Capitalism different countries of the civilised world have become dependent on one another economically and politically. These truths were demonstrated in the international character of the last military conflict, which was brought about by a competitive economic war among the capitalists. Thanks to this dependency of different countries on one another, the revolutionary crisis has also taken place in the countries economically backward, and even in the countries where development was such that the inner inconsistencies of the capitalistic régime have not yet reached their climax, and where Capitalism itself has not yet outlived all possibilities of further advance.

4 In such backward countries the immediate cause of revolutionary crisis is to be found in the destitution and the fall in productive power, caused by the

(1) These theses have been approved by the Pan-Russian Party Conference on April 10, 1920.

war, and also in the utter disorganisation of the Class-State machine. The revolutionary crisis which has started in backward countries, just because these countries depended on the capitalistic development of the world as a whole, could not be stopped simply by the removal of factors hindering economic progress within the bounds of capitalistic production.

Capitalist production is going through a world crisis. This makes the bourgeoisie of backward countries utterly incapable of reconstructing economic life as shaken by the war. But the advance of the Social Revolution in fully-developed countries will have a great influence on the backward countries and will give the working-class of these countries an opportunity of quickening the process of their own socialistic development, so that as they can profit by the greater resources and organising power of the socialistic organisation of the economic life of the most advanced countries. In view thereof, all reforms possible in backward countries, reforms which are the outcome of economic necessity and limit the sphere of the reign of Capitalism (socialisation, municipalisation, regulation of production and commerce by the State, State monopoly, compulsory labour, etc.) may become, provided that the State power is in the hands of the working class, the starting point for the development of social (public) forms, representing transitory forms between Capitalism and Socialism.

5 The universal Social Revolution—*i.e.*, the reconstruction of Society on a new social and economic basis by a new class which has taken the State power into its own hands, cannot be looked upon as a kind of historical event occurring during a short period of a few months or a few years, and sweeping away, like a catastrophe, one form of economic life in order to replace it by an absolutely different one. Such an idea of Social Revolution completely contradicts the very theory of scientific Socialism. The Social Revolution is a complicated and continuous process of gradual socialisation of the economic factors of a country and setting in the place of capitalistic and semi-capitalistic forms of production and exchange some higher form of collectivism, which would guarantee the most complete development of the productive forces. Neither would the different phases of this Revolution nor the rapidity of its progress be the same in different countries, because all countries differ very much in the degree of their capitalistic development, in the correlation with public forces of the general culture of the population, and in many other essential details. Neither must the transition from the economic crisis caused by the war to the revolutionary changes which are the characteristic features of the Social Revolution be considered as a kind of uniform process in all countries included in the historical process of Revolution.

Therefore, the usual formula that “an imperialistic war changes directly into civil war” as applying to all countries must be rejected. On the contrary, the scientific conception of the Social Revolution allows for those countries most advanced economically a certain period of economic boom after the disorganisation caused by the war. It would only be after this boom that the inner fundamental inconsistencies, which lead to Social Revolution, would reach the necessary climax and civil war will break out in these countries also.

6 But whatever may be the conditions which give various forms to the process of Social Revolution, its decisive moment, the evidence of its arrival, and its lever lies in the fundamental interchange of position of social classes, in the downfall of the political power of the capitalists, and in the seizure of the State power by the labouring classes, headed by the great industrial proletariat—*i.e.*, in a Political Revolution.

## POLITICAL REVOLUTION AND DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

7 This Political Revolution cannot be accomplished by means of a legal struggle of the proletariat within the bounds of the capitalist institutions in society. So far as the military and material forces of the State remain in possession of the ruling minority of capitalists, this minority will fight against the legal transfer of the political power into the hands of the labouring classes; so the desire and ability of the powerless majority to throw off the ruling minority by force appears to be a most necessary condition of the Social Revolution.

8 In economically advanced countries where the majority of the population belong to the classes of the proletariat and the remainder of the labouring people are socially united with the proletariat—the result of the Social Revolution will be a Dictatorship of the Proletariat, *i.e.*, concentration of the State power in the hands of the Proletariat. So far as the backward countries are concerned, Revolution will come because the capitalist class is not capable either of reconstructing economic life after the devastation of the war or of stabilising the State; but in such countries the outcome will be the division of State power between the proletariat and the other labouring classes (especially the small peasantry, like farmers and the half-farming labourers). Of course, the Proletariat will be the leaders of this combination as a class with higher culture, which, by the concentration of its members in large industrial centres, is bound to raise the development of the productive forces of the whole country.

This division of the State power is characteristic of the transitory period of Revolution in these backward countries, but here, too, a further economic development on the international scale will bring about new possibilities, which would lead to the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

9 The Class Dictatorship of the Proletariat is aimed at the social liberation of the governed and oppressed classes and is directed only against the parasitic public groups possessing the monopoly of the means of production. The Class Dictatorship represents a force organised by the State in order to crush the efforts of the minority to oppose the Social Revolution. The forms and the degree of violence directed against the class of present-day oppressors is entirely dependent on their own strength and the real power of their opposition. But in no case may the Class Dictatorship of the Proletariat be used against other labouring classes whose active and voluntary assistance in the process of social re-organisation is absolutely indispensable for the Proletariat and which alone can secure for the Proletariat a real solution of the problem of the reconstruction of economic life on the basis of a further development of the productive forces. To such classes belong the intellectual proletariat and the whole number of the technical staff of present-day industries, as well as small owners in town and country. Socialistic Dictatorship of the Proletariat, based on the real interests of the great majority of the working masses and the growing understanding by the majority of their own interests, does not attempt to impose its will on the majority of the people; on the contrary, the Proletariat as the revolutionary vanguard of Labour endeavours to realise the highest aspirations of the majority of the labouring classes.

10 The conception of the Class Dictatorship of the Proletariat has nothing in common, but its name, with the dictatorship of a single person or an oligarchy, nor with the dictatorship of the class-conscious revolutionary minority, when this minority is attempting to rule over the majority of the people even



in the interests of these people. Revolutionary Social Democracy protests most decisively against the principle of the Dictatorship of a Minority, which contradicts the most fundamental truths of Socialism, that the liberation of the working class is the task of the working class itself. The principle of the Dictatorship of a Minority in the opinion of the Revolutionary Social Democracy, is degrading to the working masses as an object of social experiment. In every attempt to bring about the Dictatorship of a Minority in open or veiled form Social Democracy perceives the greatest danger to the revolutionary development of the working class and to the success of the Social Revolution. Therefore, Social Democracy renounces any policy of terrorism as a method of Revolutionary Dictatorship, by means of which a minority of the Proletariat endeavours to retain in its own hands the power already denied to them by the majority of the working masses.

## DICTATORSHIP AND DEMOCRACY

11 Dictatorship of the Proletariat does not contradict the principles of Democracy; on the contrary, it creates the best possibilities for a full and complete realisation of these principles. For the realisation of the functions of Dictatorship by the Proletariat as a class (and not by the individual dictators put above the class) is only possible if the will of this class is formed by the process of free expression of the will of all concerned: that could not take place in capitalistic democracies where so many factors have helped to crush the free will and self-assertion of the working masses. On the contrary, the conception of the Socialistic Dictatorship of the Working Class is bound up with the fundamental principles of democracy, such as real and consistent democratic government, a minimum of privileges for officials, their general election, their responsibilities before the electors, the utmost development of self-government with as few as possible professional bureaucrats in comparison with the actual producers, and the most unlimited freedom of propaganda and agitation.

12 Historically, every democracy is the democracy of definite social groups and its democratic principles are workable within these groups. So democracy of the bourgeoisie exists as a democracy of the private owners of the means of production, possessing equal political rights with the bourgeoisie and sometimes yielding those rights to another class, the class of the Proletariat, under the revolutionary pressure of the latter. The free Republic of America was created as a republic of white races. Similarly, the new Labour Democracy is the democracy of those who take part in public productive labour. Therefore, the complete or partial forfeiture of civil rights by social groups outside this Labour Democracy (*i.e.*, outside public productive labour) does not violate the democratic principles of Class Dictatorship. Consequently, the assertion that the working masses have no right to limit or make forfeit the civil rights of other classes and the appeal to absolute democratic ideals, has not much basis and can be disregarded. The Socialistic Proletariat in the question of the establishment of certain limits for a newly-organised Labour Democracy, must be guided by the aim of the Social Revolution, which demands the organisation of Society as a whole for collective work. For the realisation of such an aim, the unproductive classes of the old regime must be neither destroyed nor turned into an oppressed class, as it has happened in some of the Revolutions of the past, but rather made to join the new association of workers. Therefore, the Labour Democracy does not aim at the forfeiture of civil and political rights of the defeated class; but, on the contrary, tries to establish the reign of a Universal Democracy such as could not exist when the State power was in the hands of the capitalists.

13 During the period of civil war from the first moment of the seizure of State power, the Proletariat may be obliged to interfere with democratic rights and limit the civil rights of unproductive groups of the population in the sphere of the elective franchise, the liberty of the Press, etc. This must be regarded as a temporary measure of revolutionary self-defence and not as a historically or logically inevitable part of the Socialistic Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Such measures always prove a certain weakness and a want of confidence on the part of the Class Dictatorship, and show that this Dictatorship has evidently not yet been recognised by the majority of the people as their own. The more often the situation created by civil war urges the Socialistic Proletariat to have recourse to such measures, the more is it evident that either the social and economic conditions of the country have not been developed enough for fundamental socialistic reorganisation, or that the working masses themselves have not yet grasped the historical aim of their own Revolutionary Movement. This very fact, that at a transitory period the Socialistic Proletariat is forced to defend itself by measures involving the limitation of democratic rights, shows very clearly that the destruction of the old social forms and the creation of new ones must be accomplished in a very gradual and careful way.

14 On the contrary, every effort on the part of the Proletariat to limit democratic rights in order to force the process of socialisation and to conquer the obstacles put in the way of such a process leave economic conditions so undeveloped that they may lead to reaction among the rank and file of the Proletariat, to a degeneration of the Class Dictatorship into the Dictatorship of a dwindling Minority, and to a split in the midst of the working class itself. In general, the limitation of democratic rights, applauded by the class enemies of the Proletariat in the period of the civil war, has so far not led to the degeneration and the splitting of the working class, as the reign of real democracy and liberty for the majority of labouring masses still exists. Such a state of things may strengthen the Class Dictatorship and save it from the necessity of applying to some part of society certain exclusive measures which, under all circumstances, would be rather risky.

## THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT AND SOVIETS

15 In its historical aims and aspirations the Labour Democracy differs greatly from the Capitalist Democracy. Naturally, the former cannot simply copy the forms of State management and the public institutions of the latter. For the complete realisation of democratic principles, for real and free manifestation in action of the will of the people's majority, the Labour Democracy is in need of new and different institutions adapted to the fulfilment of the task of socialist reconstruction and to the concentration of the revolutionary energy of the working masses. To such institutions belong Workers' and Peasants' Soviets, the Factory Committees, and also class organisations created in the pre-revolutionary period, so far as they, too, are imbued with the new spirit of Revolution. But inevitable variations in the historical setting which in every country form the definite conditions for Social Revolution, such as the degree of degeneration of the State forms of capitalistic democracy, the position of the working class, its relation to other classes, etc., make it absolutely impossible to foretell which part each one of the aforesaid institutions will play in the organisation of the new democracy, so it would be purely Utopian to prescribe for the historical process of development any uniform plan of organisation of the Proletarian State, independent of any circumstances which may arise.

16 Therefore, the formula that "the Proletarian Dictatorship must be organised on the basis of the Soviet system," now regarded as the only means, has to be rejected. On the contrary, the Revolutionary Social Democracy must acknowledge that in the organisation of the Socialist State, together with the organs representing productive groups, significant through their connection with industries, a definite part may also be played by institutions of representatives elected by citizens grouped together on certain territory, as also by institutions created during the period of the highest development of bourgeois democracy, such as the referendum, etc.

17 The idea of the "Soviet System" of democracy and efforts to secure Social Revolution by way of dictatorship on the basis of this system have been nourished among the working classes of different countries by syndicalistic traditions attempting to fill the transitory period from Capitalism to Socialism. All forms of State organisation by Unions of workers in the processes of production may only be possible in a well-organised and long-established Socialist Society. A preference for the "Soviet System" is the natural outcome of great disappointment with democratic institutions, a disappointment caused partly by the strange behaviour of many Socialist Parties during the war and partly by the miserable part played by democratic institutions born during the Revolution. The miserable position of the democratic organs of power and the reactionary and powerless Constituent Assemblies and other democratic institutions, and the possibilities for the counter revolutionary forces to make use of the agitation in favour of these institutions in their struggle against the aspirations of the Proletariat for social liberation, all appear to be the results of the inner weakness of the Proletariat, and of the fact that its inner differences are still alive and hinder the formation of a united front against the capitalist classes by the attraction to the Proletariat of the whole mass of the labouring classes. Therefore, when some of the revolutionary groups of the Proletariat try to establish the Dictatorship of a Minority under the banner of "Dictatorship, based on the Soviet System," it cannot be considered as anything else than an attempt by one part of the Proletariat to solve by its own efforts the problem for which the Proletariat as a whole in the present state of the revolutionary process is not ready.

## THE TACTICS OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

18 The internationally-organised Proletariat is split and suffers from a crisis; some groups of the Proletariat are under the influence of opportunist and national ideas; others are inclined to take the course of anarcho-syndicalists and rebels. A complete sinking of these differences is the only way to create the possibility for the realisation of the real Dictatorship of the Proletariat, and such unity is as essential as the objective factors in the maturity of capitalist production and the continued degeneration of the Capitalist State.

The Revolutionary Marxian Social-Democracy being convinced of these things is making every possible effort to overcome these differences among the workers and to bring about the unity of the Proletariat for the struggle for State power, leading to the realisation of Socialism. Social-Democracy is trying to tear away from the bourgeoisie those groups of labouring people who still remain with the capitalists, and to mobilise the proletarian masses for revolutionary struggle on a national and international scale.

19 So, if in the process of revolutionary struggle State power falls into the hands of an active minority of the working class, and the latter, being unable to manage the unconquerable objective inconsistencies of its own position, wanders between an economic Utopia and political terrorism, the Revolutionary Marxian Social-Democracy supports this minority in its contest against the forces of Counter-Revolution, in its efforts to retain State power in the hands



of the working class, and to bring about the Socialist organisation of production; but at the same time, the Social-Democracy tries in every possible way, by means of changing economic policy according to the level of the social development of the country, by the democratisation of the forms of State power created by the Revolution and by the abolition of terroristic methods of government, to save the Proletariat of the given country and the World International Labour Movement from severe defeat, and to secure the development of the Revolutionary Dictatorship of this Minority, with its Utopian and terroristic characteristics—caused by necessities of the moment—into the Dictatorship of a real Majority of working people.

20 At the same time, the Revolutionary Social Democracy renounces as detrimental to the cause of the liberation of the proletariat and degrading to the masses, such political movements, which, from consideration of non-Socialistic character, and with the object of securing a political majority, try to unite a part of the Proletariat with certain groups of the bourgeoisie for the sake of democratic principles, and to set up the will of this union as the will of the people against the aspirations of an active part of the Proletariat fighting for the realisation of the Socialist reconstruction of the world.

*The Aims and Objects of the Trade Unions*

Points approved by the Central Committee of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party on March 31, 1920, and presented by the Social Democratic Section at the Third Trade Union Congress.

[ The Moscow Printers' Trade Union fully agrees with the principles and points declared in this statement. ]

1 The Trade Unions in a capitalistic society are the fighting organs of the working class. Their direct task is the defence of the general interests of the Proletariat as the class of hired workers, as well as the defence of the special interests of its different spheres in the domain of the organisation of Labour and its defence from exploitation. Their class collaboration with Socialist Parties as the political organisation of the Proletariat makes them at the same time essential factors in the struggle for the radical rebuilding of society on collectivist principles through the capturing of political power by the working classes.

2 At the time when the reign of capitalism is breaking up, in the era of the transformation of capitalistic industry into Socialism, the Trade Unions, by means of maintaining in its full force their important position as independent class organisations, and as representatives of the interests of workers of different trades and professions, and of all the working classes in general, must at the same time play an active part in the reorganisation of the social and economic forms of industry and in the management of public property.

3 At the beginning of the International Social Revolution, all the problems presented to the Russian Proletariat must be guided principally by the struggle for keeping political power in the hands of the working classes under the hegemony of the Proletariat, and forwarding all measures that help to restore national industry, destroyed by the imperialistic and civil war, and to imbue it as much as possible with Socialist ideas.

4 The fulfilment of this problem is complicated and hindered by the bad state of public economy, resulting from continuous disorders. The social inferiority of modern Russia, the prevailing part played by the peasantry in economic public life, reinforced by the decay of industry, and, consequently, by the economic weakness of the Proletariat, as a result of the continuous economic disorder, unavoidably lead to the adaptation of revolutionary power to the interests of the peasantry, which often enough do not coincide at all with the interests of the Proletariat. This adaptation is inevitable, as all revolutionary policy tends through suppression of the peasantry to defend the rights of the Proletariat solely, and would lead only to anarchy, the prolongation of war and the deepening of general delay and disorder. Such an adaptation of revolutionary policy to peasant interests makes the maintenance of independent class organisations essentially necessary for the Proletariat.

5 The international situation of Russia, its economic inferiority, the great devastation caused by the war during the last five years, all compel the country to concede the claims of Foreign Powers and to accept the intrusion of large capitalistic industry in the guise of concessions. Because of that form of economic relationship, class antagonism between Labour and Capital, and the economic class struggle between them, will always exist, the State being bound

by international connections in the matter of the defence of proletarian interests. Together, with the intrusion of foreign capital, will grow the adaptation of Russian private capital to which the organs of State power have applied rather often at the present time. Finally, the extreme growth of private, small, and home industry, accompanying the disappearance of large industry now confined to national property, creates numbers of hired workers whose interests stand in need of defence by the Trade Unions.

6 At the same time, the present economic policy of the Soviets, based solely on the tendency to resolve all economic problems through compulsory measures, and bureaucratic administration, weakens still more the Proletariat engaged in large industrial undertakings. From this point of view, the Proletariat stands in great need of strong and independent Trade organisations. The class independency of the Trade Unions does not mean either the neutrality of the Unions towards Capitalism and Socialism, or their neutrality towards the Socialist (the Soviet) Government in its struggle against Counter-Revolution, and in its attempts to renew economic life on a socialistic basis. On the contrary, the Trade Unions by all means must be on the side of the Soviets in their fight against Counter-Revolution and Capital. The class independence of the Trade Unions means only that in the sphere of their special activity they are neither subordinate organs of the Government nor organisations dependent on the Socialist Party. It means only that the Unions pursuing their work with Socialistic class consciousness are able to defend before the Government the interests of the Proletariat quite independently from the views of the Government itself, and will express only the will of the organised Proletariat.

7 The policy of "Subordination to the State" exercised during the last two years, has led to the complete decay of the Professional Movement. The forced membership, the financial dependency on the State, the execution of the plans of the Government's chief organs, have killed the independent activity of the masses organised into Unions, deprived these Unions of their independency and energy, and transformed them into bureaucratic institutions with an indefinite circle of duties forcibly fixed by the Government.

8 The Trade Unions will only be able to accomplish their task of the defence and strengthening of the social and political position of the Proletariat if they take an active part in the development of the productivity of labour, in the revival of industry, and in the improvement of the efficiency of labour. The Trade Unions will not be able to achieve all this if they countenance the proposed labour discipline or if they fail to raise to its highest point their defence of labour and social welfare.

9 But this problem of the development of productive energy, the improvement of efficiency, and labour discipline, cannot be resolved through the plans which the present Government is defending. The Government sees in the so-called Dictatorship and in Militarisation the only means of struggling with the decay of industry. The Trade Unions must reject these as plans which keep the working classes from exerting their influences on the organisation of industry and the inner arrangement of works and factories. The Trade Unions must defend the necessity for the most active participation of the working classes in the organisation and the direction of industry. This must be realised through the introduction of representatives of the Trade Unions—elected by their organisations and responsible before them—to all the organs directing industry as a whole as well as its different branches, different industrial territories,



and large undertakings. Such participation is quite compatible with the transfer of technical administration of undertakings to single persons and with investing them with necessary independence.

If the part taken by representatives of the Trade Unions in the direction of industry should really lead to improved efficiency of labour and help all the working classes to take their share in the leading of economic life, our Unions, as the whole experiment of the Russian Soviets has shown, must keep their character as independent class organisations, based on the independence of the masses, and having the freedom necessary for their activity. Otherwise the part taken by some of the representatives of the Unions on the Central Committees and other organs of economic administration will by no means serve as a guarantee against their bureaucratic degeneration.

10 Even if we do not deny in principle the Obligatory Work System as a means which, in case of need, the State can use in its struggle against industrial decay, we cannot agree that the State at this moment has no other means for rebuilding industry than the always inefficient obligatory work. Therefore, the mobilisation of the whole mass of simple workers, and still more the mobilisation of special working forces, could be accepted only in those cases when all other means are already exhausted or when some catastrophic situation renders other measures impossible. We must look for these other means before such a complete change in the general direction of economic policy takes place. First of all, in public instruction, even at the price of great financial sacrifice by the State; in increased elementary stocks for the organisation of work in such branches of industry and in undertakings that are the most important at the present moment; as well as in the radical reform of the loans system, and in the adaptation of salaries in the chief branches of industry to at least that minimum which will give to the workers the necessary means of existence. At the same time the Mobilisation of Labour should be carried on, when it is really necessary, only with the active help and under the control of the Trade Unions.

The Militarisation of Labour must, therefore, be decisively rejected as a method which unites extreme inefficiency of obligatory work with a great waste of working power and elementary stocks, deprives the worker of every possibility whatever of defending his lawful interests, and prevents the Trade Unions from performing their part in the organisation of national economy and in increasing labour efficiency.

11 The freedom of election to Boards of Administration and Works Committees, a regular system of representation at the Professional Congresses and freedom of opinion for the Opposition, are necessary conditions for the normal development of the Professional Movement and the accomplishment of the problems presented to it. The creation of these conditions for the growth of a healthy Professional Movement demands the suppression of the Political Terror, the abolition of privileges for the ruling Party, the establishment of Freedom of Speech, Press and Meetings for all the workers, the liquidation of the Party Dictatorship and the full observance of the Soviet Constitution as first steps to the establishment of real power of working classes.

*Manifesto Addressed to the Representatives of the British  
Proletariat by the Central Committee of the Social  
Revolutionary Party*

DEAR COMRADES,

The Central Committee of the Social Revolutionary Party welcomes your arrival on the territory of Revolutionary Russia with a feeling of great moral satisfaction, and is profiting by the occasion to give expression to its gratitude to you for your fearless work in opposing the malignant blockade policy, the isolation of Russia from the whole world, and the unceasing attempts at armed intervention, direct and indirect, in its home affairs.

We, the Party that is suffering more than any other from the brutal violence of Bolshevik Party dictatorship, deprived of our Press and of a public tribune, constantly persecuted and forced to work illegally and secretly—we mean to use our energy to the utmost in protesting against the policy of the ex-Allies of Russia which tends to make their very name loathed in our country by all classes, without distinction of party. We declare that however violent our political conflicts with the ruling party may be, they are our own private affair into which we will not suffer armed intervention on the part of anyone whosoever. The Russia of the Russian people harbours within itself a sufficient amount of inward power, as yet only imperfectly developed, to cope with its own political diseases and crises without any patronage from abroad. The more so as every attempt at such intervention hitherto made has not only failed to bring about any real help to the labouring classes in untying the Gordian knot created by the prevailing social-political confusion, but has, on the contrary, only resulted in muddling still more the complicated political situation.

You are all of you, of course, aware that the governments of the victorious Powers have obstinately and persistently supported the counter-revolutionary generals, especially Koltchak and Denikin, in their civil war against Bolshevik power. However hopelessly senseless the latter policy was, it had some semblance of justification to back it. In the person of the Bolsheviks on the one hand, and of Koltchak and Denikin on the other, we had two dictatorships waging war against one another—two powers neither universally accepted nor supported by the majority of the population, and upheld sheerly by brute force and Party terror. At Brest one of these powers played into the hands of the Hohenzollerns and nearly brought about the ruin of Western Europe through the military jingoism of the neutral Powers. The other kept on vociferously declaring its unshakeable faithfulness to the Allies, and the governments of the victorious Powers could with some semblance of truth speak of their “debt of honour” with regard to people who kept such faith to obligations incurred towards the Allies. They shut their eyes to the fact that the counter-revolutionary opponents of the Bolsheviks—from Milioukoff in Great Russia, via Skoropadsky on the Ukraine, up to Krasnoff on the Don—were just as willing to place themselves under the protection of the Germans—their enemies of yesterday—as under that of the Allies, according to who was the strongest and the nearest. They either did not see, or pretended not to see, that the one thing needful to the Counter-Revolution was to abolish Bolshevik dictatorship,

setting up their own in its place, and that with this aim in view, they would betray any of their friends and sell themselves to any strong ally. Hatred against the Bolsheviks, in whom the governments of the victorious Powers loathed not only what was essentially Bolshevik, but in whom they abhorred everything that remained in common with the Social-Revolutionists—this hatred made them establish ties in Russia with the live corpses of reaction, whom they, as a matter of fact, cordially detested, but whom—in their superior disdain to all things Russian—they considered good enough for this wild and primitive country.

All these things you know. But there is, perhaps, something which you do not know, or, at least, not sufficiently well. It is not the Counter-Revolutionaries alone who raised arms against Bolshevik power. At the precise moment when, by the orders of Mirbach, Bolshevik power was to have dealt a mighty blow to the invincible Czeco-Slovak legions, the peasants of the Middle Volga districts, as well as the workers of the Ural, profited by this conflict to abolish the Bolshevik dictatorship and set up a democracy and the rule of a Constituent Assembly in its stead. At the same time, the workers, peasants, and sailors of North Russia, by their own unaided power, brought about a similar Revolution on the territories of Murmansk, Archangel, and some parts of the Olonetz district.

What happened next? How did the Allies conduct themselves in this conflict, especially the representatives of the British Government. It was in vain that the Government of the Constituent Assembly tried to establish relations with the Allied Powers. All its appeals remained unanswered. But no sooner had the Counter-Revolution taken firm root in the rear, behind the strong barriers of the armies of the Constituent Assembly, and was whetting its sword in safe and far-off Siberia for a treacherous attack on the Labour Democracy, struggling against the Bolsheviks—no sooner had this happened, than the Allied Missions, with Knox at their head, appeared on the scene, openly flaunting their intimate connection with these conspirators, now secretly preparing their *coup d'état* for a political and social restoration. Their influence brought demoralisation in the Czeco-Slovak armies, whose original national revolutionary ardour rapidly cooled under the policy of equivocal semi-neutrality forced upon them in the struggle of the reactionary conspirators against the representatives of the people. The support lent by them to the reaction made the more zealous fighters in the ranks of the democracy hold back, effacing themselves and yielding to the weak and backboneless, ever ready for any compromise with the reaction that was now raising its head. With the direct assistance and the ill-concealed, and sometimes even open, support of the Allied agents, and after a series of base surrenders, the last remnants of the democracy were liquidated by the Russian Bonapartists. Koltchak, the dictator, immediately received what had been refused to the Government of the Constituent Assembly—an almost complete and official acknowledgement, and every kind of help. The cause of the restoration of democracy in Russia was stifled, and with it perished the finest chances of victory. The demoralisation and dismemberment of the Democratic Revolutionary Army, transformed into the Prætorian Army of a dictator, as well as the risings of peasants and workers in the rear, gave victory into the hands of the Bolsheviks—a victory which they owe in no slight degree to the political intriguers and adventurers who were representing the interests of the Allies in Siberia.

Thus matters stood on the Volga-Ural front. In the North things were simpler still: the Government, formed of Socialist Members of the Constituent Assembly, at once found itself powerless, bound hand and foot by the arbitrary



patronage of the British command, under the auspices of which the North of Russia was deluged by the dregs of military and reactionary emigration. These Russian protégés of the British command brought about a Revolution, which their leaders were forced to quash under pressure of a general strike on the part of the indignant population. But the impossible conditions created by British military supremacy again obliged the truly Socialist part of the Government to abdicate its power. The reactionary regime which the Socialist, Tchaikovsky, was weak enough to shield under his name, now hopelessly compromised, brought about the same fatal results. The democratic outburst, the revolutionary enthusiasm of the people, died off without leaving any trace behind it; and the degenerate Government perished ingloriously under the blows of the Bolsheviks, now accepted without any resistance, and even with a kind of relief, by the very population that had previously driven them away.

Such is the sad and wretched result of the Allied intervention. Add to this the readiness to exploit the dismemberment and weakness of Russia, changing it from a subject of international policy into a colony where one could lay a paw on Baku naphtha, Siberian gold-mines, Archangel forests, etc., and you will understand that we have long ago won the right of protesting against Allied intervention, not only on principle and from feelings of national dignity, but also from bitter experience. If the Allied Powers wish to boycott Russia politically and economically so long as she remains under Bolshevik influence, justifying themselves by the enmity of the Russian Democracy towards the Bolsheviks, we shall call such a justification hypocrisy. Those who did not shrink from carrying on diplomatic relations with the bloodthirsty Sultan, Abdul Hamid, and the no less bloodthirsty Nicholas, of Russia, nor the Emperor of China, nor the Mikado of Japan, have no right to reject with indignation relations with the present dictators of the Kremlin as unfitting to their dignity. Our own non-acceptance of Bolshevik power, now spiritually estranged from the great majority as well as essentially anti-democratic, and our struggle against them as distorters of Socialism, who have bereft it of its very soul—public and personal liberty—lies in quite a different sphere. It is no longer a question of whether diplomatic relations are to exist or not between the victorious Powers on the one hand and the Kremlin outcasts of Russian Democracy on the other. The fact of the latter not being acknowledged by the Allies adds nothing—nor does the contrary case detract anything—from the mutual relations of Parties. The struggle between the dictators on the one hand and the people, thirsting for freedom, ripe for it and weary of oppression, on the other will settle itself unaided. Any intervention from without will only hinder and delay the process.

Ever since the banner of war against Bolshevik dictatorship was torn—with the gracious assistance of the Allies—from the hands of the Democracy by the Counter-Revolutionaries, there has been no Socialist Party in Russia desirous of playing into the hands of the latter. Only renegades of Socialism, expelled from its ranks—such as Savinkoff, Bourtzeff and the like—can fail to obey the general battle-cry of the Labour Democracy. However strongly Bolshevik power has compromised the cause of the Revolution, however many mistakes and even crimes against freedom it may have committed—nevertheless, so long as the claws of social and political reaction, powerful through foreign aid and rich with foreign gold and armaments, are greedily clutching at the Bolshevik heirloom—so long will no armed hand from within our camp be lifted against that power. The struggle of the Democracy will only develop to its full extent after the complete defeat of the reaction, when Russia is completely guaranteed from inward as well as outward counter-revolutionary *coups d'état*.

For the present our country is doomed to suffer in silence from Bolshevik dictatorship, nourished as the latter is by the civil war and international state of siege within the circle of outer foes. In welcoming you, the Party of the Social Revolutionaries is hailing the first breach in the international barbed-wire fencing by which Western Europe has hedged itself off from Revolutionary Russia. We are glad that through you the working classes of Europe will be able to acquaint themselves for the first time with the true state of affairs in our country. Up to now they have received their information from two sources, both equally unreliable. On the one hand the state of affairs in Bolshevik Russia has been smirched by the pen of bourgeois journalists who, in Bolshevism, detest not that part of it which is antagonistic to the other Socialist Parties in Russia, but that which forms an integral part of Revolutionary Socialism in general. On the other hand you have been made acquainted with the official, red-tape, semblance of truth promoted by the advocates of the Bolshevik regime. Both are equally far from the real truth. If, instead of putting yourselves on a foot of diplomatic guests of the Bolshevik authorities, politely prepared to see only what is shown to you, without taking a glimpse behind the scenes of the exhibition, you will see that the attacks of the bourgeois boulevard Press, as well as the panegyrics of the official defence, are equally far from the truth. Our regime is a strange mixture of new and old. In it you can see the triumph of a bureaucratically-centralised system of barrack discipline—with its heirloom bequeathed by the war—the infernal equality of all before the face of famine, requisitions, labour conscription, food, railway and military dictatorship; you will see its indifference to human life, its system of imprisonment and terror, of unanimity coercively imposed on citizens, its abolition of personal and public freedom, and its suppression of representative organisations. At the same time you will note features characteristic of extreme demagoguery in which Socialist and Communist tendencies verge on Anarchic Syndicalism. It will be rather a more difficult matter for you to grasp the kind of inner evolution Bolshevik power has undergone and is still undergoing. Its transformation from a power essentially ochlocratic with alternating paroxysms of masterfulness and weakness, dictatorship and anarchy, into a power gradually grown more and more lifeless and bureaucratic, into a power of “adapted revolutionaries” of the post-Napoleonic period of the Great French Revolution. This change accounts for all the problems and contradictions of our regime, quite intelligible to us, but, perhaps, not quite so intelligible to you. It is our duty to point out to you this key to an understanding of what may at first sight seem to you confused and chaotic—almost irrational.

We deeply regret your encountering Revolutionary Russia at such a disturbed and painful period of her history. We quite understand that the British proletariat, deafened by the clamour of the recent world slaughter, not yet recovered from the wave of national chauvinism, would like to see in Russia, in spite of the libels of petty bourgeois penny-a-liners, the living example of how a people, after having shaken off its feet the dust of the old world, has risen on the ruins of the war conflagration to a new work of creation, free and untrammelled by any chains or bonds. We quite agree that some illusions must be left, and that the proletariat of Europe has created “the Red Legend” of a great country where Socialism, unrealisable to Philistine bourgeoisie, has not only been tried, but has now existed for nearly three years, in spite of the civil war, the blockade, and an artificial isolation from the rest of the cultured world, amid the gibes of inimically-inclined people hedging it round. We are well aware that this Red Legend, this Red Myth, may exert an elevating influence on the ardour of the proletarian vanguard, causing its heart to beat faster, proudly raising its head, and straining to tenseness its revolutionary muscle.



We are loath to confess that this Red Legend must react with a force directly proportionate to the square of its distance, and that the number of models of admirable energy worthy of imitation is far below the number of examples showing us how a Social Revolution should *not* be accomplished. We would ask you to try and distinguish among the many strange and Asiatically-savage facts of Bolshevik-Communist dictatorship something more than the mere mad pranks of a Caliban. Do not forget that revolutionary passion carried to fanatical excess, added to the impatience characteristic of an active temperament, often prove fatal. You must always bear in mind that Russia has lived for ages under a regime of all-round oppression on the part of the Government; that the training of the people in ideas of democracy demanded a period of time too long for the patience of a great number of the people themselves. The temptation proved too strong to effect a leap right over the dead level of unpreparedness with the help of enlightened despotism and the rod of Peter the Great shaped according to new Communist fashion. Taking all this into consideration, it will, perhaps, be clear to you why in the tumultuous chaos of revolutionary tempest, one part of the Russian Socialists so quickly and easily cast off the outward gilding of scientific Socialism, showing underneath the Asiatic nature of enlightened despotism with a Communist lining. This Asiatic Communism on the principle of *va banque*, is a direct result of the awful conditions of the country arising from the exhaustion of Russia from the world war. It is a disease of Socialism indirectly generated by the unwholesome condition of the whole country.

This pathological type of Communism is inimical to us, firstly, because its policy discredits the idea of Socialism in the eyes of an ever-increasing number of people, identifying it with the equality of all in the face of pauperism in the tight clutches of a bureaucratic State. This makes us limit ourselves definitely from the ruling Party, for the sake of redeeming the idea of Socialism in the hearts and minds of the people, and take up an irreconcilable attitude towards it. But experience has shown us, firstly, that Socialism can only triumph by means of such methods, and be realised in such ways as tend to increase instead of lower the productivity of labour, and increase instead of diminish production. Secondly, Socialism can triumph only when the condition of the people is prepared for it; and that means Socialism attained not through the dictatorship of the minority over the majority, but by means of a Democracy personifying the free creative work of the labouring classes themselves.

We are convinced that you will be able to distinguish two essentially different questions. The first is: What lessons, useful for its future organisation, must Socialism learn from the tragically painful experiment of the Russian experimenters, who are now in the act of destroying the Red Legend? In order to answer this question you must look unflinchingly into the face of the undisguised truth about Bolshevik politics. The second question is: What is the attitude to be demanded towards the Bolshevik Government authorities on the part of foreign Imperialist Governments? This question must be settled independently of any unfavourable criticism of Bolshevik policy.

There is hardly anyone among you whom the Bolshevik Press has not branded in the eyes of the Russian labouring classes as a traitor to the cause of Socialism and the proletariat. This demagogic principle, while demoralising the workers, makes us all the more determined to call to the workers to welcome in you the representatives of the true Labour Movement of the West. We know that ever since the great world-war there have arisen among you strong diversities of opinion on the question of how far our international revolutionary conscience admits the necessity of war. Our Party feels an affinity with that section of



English Socialism which has shown the greatest determination in carrying on the struggle against war, in the name of the establishment of a just and rightful peace for the whole world. But independently of all this, we are welcoming in your delegation the Labour Movement of Great Britain for its own sake, in all the glory of its aims and ideas.

Long live the Labour Movement of Great Britain!

Long live the revived Social Revolutionary International of the future!

Long live the Universal Struggle for the Reconstruction of the Capitalist into a Socialist world.

(Signed) VICTOR TCHERNOFF  
A. GOTZ  
D. RAKOFF  
M. ZETLIN  
E. TIMOFFEIEW  
M. VEDENJAPIN  
D. DONSKOY<sup>1</sup>  
E. RATNER<sup>1</sup>  
S. MOROSOFF<sup>1</sup>

*The Central Committee of the Social Revolutionary Party.*

(1) The signatures of these members of the Central Committee of Russian Social Revolutionary Party are appended with their consent; they could not sign the Declaration themselves, owing to their being now imprisoned by the order of the Extraordinary Commission.

*Kropotkin's Message*

I have been asked whether I have not some message to send to the working men of the Western world? Surely there is much to say about the current events in Russia, and much to learn from them. The message might be long. But I shall indicate only some main points.

First of all, the working men of the civilised world and their friends in the other classes ought to induce their Governments entirely to abandon the idea of armed intervention in the affairs of Russia—whether open or disguised, whether military or in the shape of subventions to different nations.

Russia is now living through a Revolution of the same depth and the same importance as the British nation underwent in 1639–1648, and France in 1789–1794; and every nation should refuse to play the shameful part that Great Britain, Prussia, Austria and Russia played during the French Revolution.

Moreover, it must be kept in view that the Russian Revolution—while it is trying to build up a society where the whole produce of the joint efforts of Labour, technical skill, and scientific knowledge should go entirely to the Commonwealth itself—is not a mere accident in the struggle of Parties. It is something that has been prepared by nearly a century of Communist and Socialist propaganda, since the times of Robert Owen, St. Simon and Fourier; and although the attempt at introducing the new society by means of the dictature of one Party is apparently doomed to be a failure, it, nevertheless, must be recognised that the Revolution has already introduced into our everyday life new conceptions about the rights of Labour, its true position in Society, and the duties of every citizen, which have come to stay.

All concerned, not only the working men, but all of the progressive elements of the civilised nations, ought to put a stop to the support hitherto given to the opponents of the Revolution. Not that there should be nothing to oppose in the methods of the Bolshevik Government! Far from that. But because every armed intervention of a Foreign Power necessarily results in a reinforcement of the dictatorial tendencies of the rulers and paralyses the efforts of those Russians who are ready to aid Russia, independently of the Government, in the reconstruction of its life on new lines.

The evils, naturally inherent in Party Dictatorship, have thus been increased by the war conditions under which this Party maintained itself. The state of war has been an excuse for strengthening the dictatorial methods of the Party, as well as its tendency to centralise every detail of life in the hands of the Government; with the result that immense branches of the usual activities of the nation have been brought to a standstill. The natural evils of State Communism are thus increased tenfold under the excuse that all the misfortunes of our life are due to the intervention of the foreigners.

Besides, I must also mention that military intervention by the Allies, if it is continued, will certainly give rise in Russia to bitter feeling against the Western nations, and this will some day be utilised by their enemies in possible future conflicts. Such bitterness is already developing.

In short, it is high time that the West-European nations entered into direct relations with the Russian nation. And in this direction you—the working classes and the advanced portions of all nations—ought to have your say.

One more word about the general question. A renewal of relations between the European and American nations and Russia certainly must not mean the admission of a supremacy of the Russian nation over those nationalities of which the Empire of the Russian Tsars was composed. Imperial Russia is dead and will not return to life. The future of the various Provinces of which the Empire was composed lies in the direction of a great Federation. The natural territories of the different parts of that Federation are quite distinct for those of us who are acquainted with the history of Russia, its ethnography and its economic life; and all attempts to bring the constituent parts of the Russian Empire—Finland, the Baltic Provinces, Lithuania, the Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Siberia and so on—under one central rule are surely doomed to failure. The future of what was the Russian Empire is in the direction of a Federation of independent units.

It would therefore be in the interest of all that the Western nations should declare beforehand that they are recognising the right of self-government for every portion of what was once the Russian Empire.

As to my own views on the subject, they go still further. I see the coming in the near future of a time when every portion of that Federation will itself be a federation of free rural communes and free cities; and I still believe that portions of Western Europe will soon take the lead in that direction.

Now, as regards our present economical and political situation, the Russian Revolution being a continuation of the two great Revolutions, in England and in France, Russia is trying to make now a step in advance of where France stopped, when it came to realise in life what was described then as real equality (*égalité de fait*); that is economic equality.

Unfortunately, the attempt to make that step has been undertaken in Russia under the strongly-centralised Dictatorship of one Party—the Social Democratic Maximalists<sup>1</sup>, and the attempt was made on the lines taken in the utterly Centralist and Jacobinist conspiracy of Babeuf. About this attempt I am bound frankly to tell you that, in my opinion, the attempt to build up a Communist Republic on the lines of strongly-centralised State-Communism, under the iron rule of the Dictatorship of a Party, is ending in a failure. We learn in Russia how Communism cannot be introduced, even though the populations, sick of the old regime, opposed no active resistance to the experiment made by the new rulers.

The idea of Soviets, that is, of Labour and Peasant Councils—first promoted during the attempted Revolution of 1905, and immediately realised by the Revolution of February, 1917, as soon as the Tsar's regime broke down—the idea of such Councils controlling the political and the economic life of the country is a grand idea. The more so as it leads necessarily to the idea of these Councils being composed of all those who take a real part in the production of national wealth by their own personal effort.

But so long as a country is governed by the Dictatorship of a Party, the Labour and Peasant Councils evidently lose all their significance. They are reduced to the passive rôle played in times past by States-General and Parliaments, when they were convoked by the King and had to oppose an all-powerful King's Council.

(1) *i.e.*, the Bolsheviks.



A Labour Council ceases to be a free and valuable adviser when there is no free Press in the country; and we have been in this position for nearly two years—the excuse for such conditions being the state of war. More than that, the Peasant and Labour Councils lose all their significance when no free electoral agitation precedes the elections, and the elections are made under the pressure of Party Dictatorship. Of course, the usual excuse is that dictatorial rule was unavoidable as a means of combating the old regime. But such a rule evidently becomes a formidable drawback as soon as the Revolution proceeds towards the building-up of a new Society on a new economic basis: it becomes a death sentence on the new construction.

The ways to be followed in order to overthrow an already weakened Government and to take its place are well known from history, old and modern. But when it comes to the building-up of quite new forms of life—especially new forms of production and exchange, without having any examples to imitate; when everything has to be worked out by men on the spot; then an all-powerful centralised government which undertakes to supply every inhabitant with every lamp-glass and every match to light the lamp proves absolutely incapable of doing that through its functionaries, no matter how countless they may be; it becomes a nuisance. It develops such a formidable bureaucracy that the French bureaucratic system, which requires the intervention of forty functionaries to sell a tree felled by a storm on a *route nationale*, becomes a trifle in comparison. This is what we are now learning in Russia. And this is what you, the working men of the West, can and must avoid by all means, since you care for the success of a social reconstruction, and have sent your delegates here to see how a Social Revolution works in real life.

The immense constructive work that is required from a Social Revolution cannot be accomplished by a central government; even if it had, to guide it in its work, something more substantial than a few Socialist and Anarchist booklets. It requires the knowledge, the brains, and the willing collaboration of a mass of local and specialised forces, which alone can cope with the diversity of economic problems in their local aspects. To sweep away that collaboration and to trust to the genius of Party Dictators is to destroy all the independent nuclei, such as Trade Unions (called in Russia “Professional Unions”) and the local Distributive Co-operative organisations—turning them into bureaucratic organs of the Party—as it is being done now. But this is the way *not* to accomplish the Revolution: the way to render its realisation impossible. And this is why I consider it my duty earnestly to warn you from taking such a line of action.

Imperialist conquerors of all nationalities may desire that the populations of the ex-Empire of Russia should remain in miserable economic conditions as long as possible, and thus be doomed to supply western and middle Europe with raw material; while the western manufacturers, producing manufactured goods, should cash all the benefits that the populations of Russia might otherwise obtain from their work. But the working classes of Europe and America, and the intellectual nuclei of these countries, surely understand that only by the force of conquest could they keep Russia in that subordinate condition. At the same time the sympathies with which our Revolution was met all over Europe and America show that you were happy to greet in Russia a new member of the international comradeship of nations. And you surely will soon see that it is in the interest of the workers of all the world that Russia should issue as soon as possible from the conditions that now paralyse her development.

A few words more. The last war has inaugurated new conditions of life in the civilised world. Socialism is sure to make considerable progress, and new forms of a more independent life surely will be soon worked out on the lines of local political independence and free scope in social reconstruction, either in a pacific way, or by revolutionary means, if the intelligent portions of the civilised nations do not join in the task of an unavoidable reconstruction.

But the success of this reconstruction will depend to a great extent upon the possibility of a close co-operation of the different nations. For this co-operation the labouring classes of all nations must be closely united; and for that purpose the idea of a great International of all the working men of the world must be renewed: not in the shape of a Union directed by one single Party—as was the case in the Second International, and is again in the Third. Such Unions have, of course, full reason to exist; but besides them, and uniting them all, there must be a Union of all the Trade Unions of the World—of all those who produce the wealth of the world, and united in order to free the production of the world from its present enslavement to Capital.

(Signed)

P. KROPOTKIN.

*Dmitroff, June 10, 1920.*

## APPENDIX X

*Schedule of Monthly Wages in Woodworking Industry  
During 1920*

| <i>Category</i> | <i>Occupation</i>                                   | <i>Roubles</i> |
|-----------------|---|----------------|
| 1               | Charwomen, etc. .. .. .                             | 1200           |
| 3               | Messengers, etc. .. .. .                            | 1380           |
| 4               | Nightwatchmen .. .. .                               | 1400           |
| 6               | Telephone Girls, etc. .. .. .                       | 1620           |
| 8               | Tracers, etc. .. .. .                               | 1780           |
| 9               | Typists .. .. .                                     | 1860           |
| 12              | Invoice Clerks, Draughtsmen .. .. .                 | 2100           |
| 16              | Book-keepers, Designers, Correspondents.. .. .      | 2500           |
| 18              | Cashiers, etc. . . . .                              | 2700           |
| 20              | Senior Book-keepers, foreign correspondents .. .. . | 2900           |
| 23              | First Grade Secretaries .. .. .                     | 3200           |
| 26              | First Grade Engineers .. .. .                       | 3500           |
| 28              | Accountants, Section Managers .. .. .               | 3750           |
| 31              | Assistant Directors of Works .. .. .                | 4200           |
| 32              | Chief Accountants .. .. .                           | 4300           |
| 35              | Directors .. .. .                                   | 4800           |



## *Two Years' Dictatorship of the Proletariat in the Metal Industry of Petrograd*

Two years' dictatorship of the Proletariat gives evidence that the Soviet Government has evolved from working-class abstraction a true and positive reality.

In view of the economic situation and the wobbling of Kerenski's Government, the Russian Proletariat saw plainly that the Government must inevitably fall, and that the power on which the bourgeoisie reckoned must now pass to the working class; and the Proletariat quietly waited for that moment keeping a watch on its enemies by means of its solid workers' organisations in the workshops.

During Kerenski's Government the bourgeoisie already had begun to disorganise our industry. But the Proletariat was on guard and opposed to the acts of the bourgeoisie the proposition of workers' control over industry.

As the Government was openly defending the interests of the bourgeoisie, the workers could do nothing less than throw off Kerenski's Government and assume power.

At the time of the October Revolution there were already two economic organisations of the Proletariat, viz., (1) the Professional Unions (Trade Unions) and (2) the Council of Factory Workmen's Committees. These organisations had to meet the problem of effecting the fusion of the two into one powerful economic organisation, a task, however, which was soon accomplished.

In this way was born the Council of National Economy of the Northern District (Soviet Narodneve Hosiastva Siervnove Rayon), which was recently transformed into the Council of National Economy of Petrograd, and—one of its greatest sub-divisions—the Metal Section. It came into being just at the critical moment of the demobilisation of our metal works.

After enormous struggles, the workers of the Section not only succeeded in realising workers' control over all the existing metal works, but in completely guiding the workshops of our metal industry.

### WORKERS' CONTROL

The October Revolution, which gave power to the workers, brought two problems for solution, viz., (1) The consolidation of that power, and (2) the organisation of the industry.

Neither practical considerations, nor the practical experience of the old working-class parties, nor the works of the best known theorists of Socialism could in practice show the right way which must be followed by the workers in the domain of industry at the time immediately following the Revolution. Not even the working class could succeed at once in breaking the boycott of the educated groups of the population, and win over the hundreds and thousands of technicians, economists and other specialists as true-hearted friends of the new Government. At that time the problem of organisation could not be completely solved.

The fact is, the breakdown of the old industry and the necessity of rebuilding it in the socialistic manner made it necessary rather to create a new organisation than to attempt to administer the old one. It must be noted that the working class, even after the October victory, had not forgotten the first axiom of Marxism, that in the transitory period from Capitalism to Socialism a series of battles between the classes is quite inevitable, and that ever fresh attacks and counter-manceuvres on the part of the bourgeoisie would result. This circumstance, of course, played an enormous rôle in the choosing of the new road for the economic policy.

Thus, when the problem of organising industry was presented to the workers, they understood that the shortest way to attain to the new methods of industry and to the creation of the new national economy must be through control by the working class.

The passing of the administrative functions into the hands of the State created a new form of relationship between the Trade Unions and the Factory Workmen's Committees. The best definition of that new relationship was given by a workman in the following words:—"The Factory Committees are the working class organisations for guiding the factories; the Trade Unions are the organisations for carrying on the class warfare."

In this way, workers' control became not only a means of self-preservation for some groups of factory workmen, but also one of the principal functions of the new State apparatus. It was executed under the direction of the Trade Unions and the Metal Section. At the beginning the members of the Presidium of the Section personally controlled the factories and acted through the local organs of workers' control. But events were moving; local workers' control ceased to be the watchful eye of the workers' government and circumstances forced the Section to organise the Bureau of Workers' Control. It took the foremost part in the early stages of the organisation of the new type of industry, and existed till the time when local workers' control of industry was changed into the new forms for controlling the factories, which had nominally fallen into working-class hands. Thus at the beginning the Section was in the main nothing else but the fighting organ of workers' control.

Workers' control was practically realised in the following manner. When a factory was in need of raw materials, fuel, etc., the Section asked the sanction of the Bureau of Workers' Control, which, on its side, asked for reasons for every account. It will be noted that the workers, looking from their local point of view, often fell under the influence of the specialists, who, in general, were on the side of our enemies and strove to conceal the real state of affairs in the factory.

There was also another side to the functions of the Section. Some measures of the Factory Committees caused collisions and conflicts with the administration or the technical personnel, which had to be solved by the Section.

The approach of the German armies obliged the Section to expend much of its force and energy on the evacuation. Our enemies profited by the circumstances and adopted the policy of "Break and disturb." In some factories, the workers in taking the machines to pieces used not the screw keys or drivers, but hammers and mallets, with results which were more than deplorable. The Section strove to prevent such destructive acts by means of the Bureau of Workers' Control.

One of the most interesting problems of workers' control was the removal from the factories of workers newly arrived from the country. The influx of workers from the country attracted by the comparatively high war-time wages and the necessity of passing to peace-time industry obliged the Section to form a body of workers endowed with a thorough knowledge of the requirements of the Government of the new State. So the Section discreetly returned the mass of pure peasants to their familiar sphere, where they could make a revolutionary fight for the soil, that is, to the villages. It was only afterwards, when the Red Petrograd and the Revolutionary Government were in danger that the importance of the purification made by the Section became evident.

Such was the activity of the Metal Section, and the instinct of the revolutionary worker found the right way from the Revolution to the new forms of industry through Workers' Control.

But quite at the last moment arose a new difficulty, due to the October Revolution, and the energetic politics of the working class in the first month after it suppressed the mass resistance from above. Now the working class met a new type of sabotage organised by the technical and administrative side of the factories. It is well known that every increase in workers' control causes contradictions and decisive political fighting, and always frightens the so-called third element and cannot be understood by them.

The same happened in this Revolution, but at the first blow from the workers' authorities, the movement at once lost its organised character and a slow and lingering attrition set in.

The working class, having met such an unexpected obstacle, soon found the right method of dealing with it. They subjugated and still hold in subjection the administrative, technical and clerical personnel of the factories in much the same manner as formerly they were subjected by the bourgeoisie.

Such a conflict with the remaining bourgeoisie gave to some of the workers the administrative, economic and technical experience which they needed. At the same time the solidarity of the true-hearted friends of the Government of the new State was consolidated with the functionary personnel. From among such comrades the Section chose the members of its subdivisions in the administration of the factories and future trusts, and thus factory directors began to rise from the working class.

The problem was solved. The transition stage from workers' control to workers' administration was passed, and the Section approached the new problem of organising industry and the building up of the new economy in the metal works.

#### THE ORGANISATION OF INDUSTRY

At first, for the purpose of administering the metal works, the proprietors of which had fled, the Section created a "Bureau for the Administration of the Nationalised Factory Enterprises." Gradually, almost all the metal works of Petrograd were brought under the influence of the Section. The institution of government inspectors up to that time, however, used frequently to cause great conflicts with the Workers' Committees.

Little by little it became evident that the institution of government inspectors was insufficient. The Section, therefore, began the organisation of Factory Administrative Collegiums, consisting of two-thirds representatives of the Council of National Economy and one-third of factory workers. The presence of some workers' representatives gave a solid proletarian character to the administration and cemented the Council of National Economy and the administration itself with the mass of factory workers.

The Metal Section took into consideration the absence of guiding and directing hands, which could transform the chaos which existed in the metal works into a systematic organisation, especially in those factories where the proprietors and previous administrations continued to exercise control, hoping for a better future. It was necessary to organise the industry quickly and consequently, a "Department for the Organisation of Industry" was created in the Section.

This Department undertook to work out the general plan of labour and increased production and the general control and administration of the remaining private concerns as well as the nationalised factories. The pure administrative work, as we have mentioned above, was given to the "Bureau for the Administration of the Nationalised Factory Administration."

It soon became evident that the technical functions of the Section must be individualised. Thus arose the Technical Committee, which had to solve general technical problems, and a series of Industrial Bureaux administered by this Technical Committee.



A further difficulty had to be considered in the financial problem. In this domain the problems of the Section and of the factory administrations were extremely complicated and difficult. The nationalisation of the banks and the expropriation of private capital, carried out by force during the civil war, abolished the previous centres for financing industry, but left temporarily unaltered the fundamental principles of the previous system—the money exchange among the population, the previous manner of payment for labour, and the money itself as the medium of exchange of commodities in the country.

To complete the difficulty the previous administrations and proprietors had contrived to muddle the financial statements of the factories to such an extent that the workers were practically unable to make out the complicated system of the circulation of capital.

In some factories the workers came across not only the factory cash, but also the banking accounts, and in these cases it was possible to satisfy monetary needs.

In some others, left by the proprietors without capital, the Section made an approximate estimate of the value of the factory machinery. Then the factory received a loan to enable settlements to be made with the workmen, but the machinery itself and the materials were left to the committee for preservation and stocktaking by the corresponding organ of the Section, whilst the factories themselves were closed.

Such a method of financing was inapplicable to the big metal works which continued working, and, for a long time, kept their financial independence. The remainder of the previous banking accounts, the revenue from the independent issue of manufactures, advances given for extremely complicated orders, the financial terms between the Section and the metal works were exhausted little by little. As the new orders passed through the Section and every issue was controlled by the Section's department for production and distribution the metal works lost their own sources of revenue. The Section at once profited by these circumstances and little by little imposed its control upon the financial life of the metal works.

In the first half-year of 1919 the Bureau for the Administration of Nationalised Enterprises amalgamated with the Bureau of Workers' Control and was transformed into the Financial Administrative Subdivision, the pure administrative functions of which were given to the Bureau for the Administration of Nationalised Enterprises, whilst its previous book-keeping department became the Estimating and Accounting Bureau of the Financial Department. Towards the end of the first half-year of 1919 the work of the Bureau assumed a new character on account of the necessity for centralising or amalgamating some groups of similar metal manufacture into trusts for the purposes of administration.

#### INCREASED PRODUCTION AND ITS LABOUR PROBLEMS

The nationalisation of the metal works and the organisation of the industry compelled the Section to deal with the problem of increased output. The general economic state of the country, especially the effects of hunger and war mobilisation, enormously reduced production during the time of the Revolution, and when the Section had to pass from war orders to peace work, production was decreased still further.

To increase production was the fundamental demand of the moment. According to the original scheme of the Section it was proposed to organise a special Labour Department, which was to deal with this problem, taking into account the need for working power in the different branches of the metal industry, and with the application of such systems as the Taylor System

adapted to Socialistic ideals—in a word, it had to make a complete survey of labour as an agent in industry. That function, however, passed to the Department of the Trade Unions, only some practical measures in the labour domain being left to the Section.

At the time when reduced production was almost a catastrophe, the Section was obliged, against its Socialist principles, to introduce the system of compulsory labour. Afterwards, that heroic measure was replaced by the premium system. Experiments with the premium system were made at the Putiloff Metal Works, and the Section was obliged to organise a Special Commission for the re-organisation of the labour system in different workshops.

Certainly, when favourable outside circumstances will admit the re-establishment of normal production, the system will give extremely substantial results. The re-organised Bureau for the Increase of Production will then accomplish an interesting and valuable work.

We will now take a wide and general perspective of the forms of industrial organisation. Four years of fighting brought the railways into such a state that the country was threatened not only with the ruin of the railways, but by complete starvation. Hundreds of broken-down locomotives and waggons were waiting for repairs. The overcrowded railway junctions were waiting for new locomotives and new waggons to be unloaded. Such were the conditions during the first half-year of 1918.

At the same time there was a shortage of fuel and raw materials. The Section understood the weakness of the organisation which had to distribute fuel. There was nothing left to do, therefore, but first to supply the most indispensable factories, viz., the works repairing railway rolling stock. Consequently, the Section had to base its calculations on the demands of the railway administrations and departments and distribute the remaining fuel amongst the factories.

#### THE FIRST INDUSTRIAL PROGRAMME

Thus the Section began its first industrial programme. During the months of June, July and August, 1918, that programme concerned only those metal works which were repairing railway rolling stock, which were the thirteen largest metal works in Petrograd.

The existence of such a programme was a fact of enormous importance, showing that the Proletariat in its first experiments had embarked on a far-sighted scheme of practical direction of industry. According to the programme the thirteen factories had to accomplish the following work:—

| <i>Locomotives:</i>  | <i>Waggons:</i> | <i>Supply of Parts:</i>   |
|----------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|
| To be constructed—14 | 305             | Steel springs (1467 tons) |
| To be repaired—51    | 200             | Smoke tubes (6451 tons)   |
|                      |                 | Iron casting (1242 tons)  |

The estimated consumption of all kinds of fuel for that work (translated into coal of 7,000 calories) was 359,745 tons.

The first industrial programme was not wholly accomplished, but despite that failure, the process was of enormous importance to the Section itself. The experiment showed its own practical faults, but proved the harmfulness to the industry when, side by side with the Council of National Economy, various other bodies were administering the same metal works.

Having thus sketched the industrial plan and distributed the fuel the Section tried to establish direct control in the fulfilment of the programmes in the metal works themselves. Even the weakly organised control gave very hopeful results; so one of the Section's workers was sent on to Retchkin's wagon factory to organise the industry. Previously, there were 1,060 workmen in the factory and they manufactured four waggons monthly. Now, the number

of workmen was reduced to 480, but the month's output was twelve waggons. This example afforded sufficient evidence to prove the necessity of control.

#### THE SECOND INDUSTRIAL PROGRAMME

The second programme of the Section clearly defined the lines which practical industrial organisation had to follow. The problems facing the Section were:—

- (1) To effect an expedient distribution of fuel and materials;
- (2) To administer the industry so as to satisfy the essential needs of national economy;
- (3) To stabilise conditions in those metal works capable of manufacture, and to improve the conditions of those factories which were useless in 1918;
- (4) To conserve the supply of skilled labourers in Petrograd.

The Section promulgated an order by which every metal works estimated to work during that period had to submit detailed information to the Section in regard to its needs and resources. Only under these conditions would the Section consider the necessity and expediency of including the metal works in the programme. In this way the accommodation factories founded in wartime, which reckoned on war stock jobbing, were excluded.

The new programme for the period, September to December, 1918, estimated for much larger working results than the first one. Twenty-four new locomotives were to be executed, 106 repaired, 2,536 new railway waggons constructed, 1,000 motor-cars repaired, thousands of new implements, printing presses, machines for washing linen to be made and 200 arithmometers, 20,000 grates, 1,505 tons of nails, etc., etc., were to be produced.

The estimated consumption of fuel (translated into coal value) was 831,298 tons, and the estimated consumption of all kinds of metals was about 337,846 tons.

The expenditure was estimated at 75,498 roubles; and the number of workmen, 24,020.

In reality the Section was in need of 199,695 tons of metals and 553,249 tons of fuel.

Besides the need of metals and fuel, the output was influenced by (1) the want of skilled workers and technicians; (2) by the poor discipline of the workmen; and (3) the abolition of the system of piece work.

After the failure of the second programme the Section again introduced the system of piece work. As a result of that measure production in the Nevski Metal Works increased by three-fifths, the fuel expenditure decreased by two-thirds, and the price of manufacture by seven times in comparison with the results of the tariff system. As water and railway transport took the premier place in the second programme, we will give in greater detail the results obtained in regard to them.

The output in ship-building was as follows:—

|                                    | <i>Constructed</i> | <i>Repaired</i> |
|------------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| Sea Transports .. .. .             | 4                  | 4               |
| River Steamers .. .. .             | 8                  | 12              |
| Submarines, Torpedo Boats, etc. .. | —                  | 22              |
| Barges, Trawlers and Ships .. ..   | 5                  | 11              |

The output of the railway rolling stock was as follows:—

|                         | <i>Constructed</i> | <i>Repaired</i> |
|-------------------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| Locomotives .. .. .     | 23                 | 41              |
| Railway Waggons .. .. . | 466                | 3,313           |

This result in regard to the construction and repairs of railway rolling stock illustrates the advantage of introducing industrial programmes and measures



for efficiency in the metal industry. We give below the number of locomotives and railway waggons constructed and repaired during the time preceding the introduction of industrial programmes and after, as follows:—

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| January—May, monthly in summer                                 | 85  |
| June—August, 1918 (first programme), monthly in summer         | 451 |
| September—December, 1918 (second programme), monthly in summer | 515 |
| January—June, 1919 (third programme), monthly in summer        | 346 |

The estimate for the latter period was 614, and this decreased production may be explained by political circumstances, and also by the fact that during the first and second programmes the metal works only completed the orders begun before the October Revolution.

The third industrial programme was characterised by the experiment of subordinating the industrial problems of the Section to the requirements of the State and the country.

Working according to the industrial programme, the Section took into consideration the essential needs of the nation as far as they could be ascertained by the Section itself, and by its department for provision and distribution. Then began the first endeavour to harmonise the financial and industrial programmes. The Institution of engineer-inspectors was created for observation in regard to the execution of the programme in the workshops. Later, a more detailed inventory of necessary materials was made, including such materials as lubricating tools, dyes, and hand tools. In this way the principal type of programme was created, and if political circumstances and the enormous need of fuel had not encroached on the work of the Section, it would have been possible, by including the administration of the trusts in the work, to have elaborated the Socialist industrial programme in a definite form.

During the first six months of 1919, when the third programme was being carried out, there was a great shortage of fuel, and then followed the attack on Petrograd in May, and the evacuation of the factories, etc. The original programme had to be greatly curtailed, but the revised programme, in some domains of industry, as for example, war industry, was satisfactorily accomplished. Besides the shortage of fuel, the metal industry had a very great need of skilled workmen who had previously emigrated to the more lucrative districts or had been drawn off by mobilisation, military training, etc.

To illustrate the degree of success in carrying out the third programme we give the percentage of output in some industrial spheres. They are as follows:—

|  |       |   |
|--|-------|---|
| Locomotives (new and repaired) .. .. . | 3     | % |
| Goods waggons (new) .. .. .            | 63.8  | % |
| Goods waggons (repaired) .. .. .       | 56.3  | % |
| Smoke-tubes .. .. .                    | 30    | % |
| Ploughs .. .. .                        | 25.32 | % |
| Diesel engines .. .. .                 | 20    | % |
| Motor cars (repaired) .. .. .          | 35.1  | % |
| Iron casting .. .. .                   | 52.3  | % |
| Nails, bolts, hooks .. .. .            | 46.5  | % |

The estimated and the actual expenditure on fuel, labour and wages were as follows:—

|                 | <i>Estimate</i>     | <i>Actual</i>       |
|-----------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Fuel .. .. .    | 1,225,806 tons      | 81,758 tons         |
| Workmen .. .. . | 26,286 persons      | 14,670 persons      |
| Wages .. .. .   | 106,593,000 roubles | 114,191,000 roubles |

Owing to the civil war, with the increasing hardships of life on the one hand and the duty of the revolutionary to be in the ranks of the fighters on the other, the workshops were deprived of a great number of their best workmen. The need of transport which was used entirely to serve the front greatly influenced the execution of the programme. The industrial programme was hindered by all these conditions; nevertheless, by the adoption of the programme, and by the power of the State, the chaos was dispelled.

#### THE FORMATION OF TRUSTS AND THE ORGANISATION OF TRUST ADMINISTRATIONS

During the execution of the third programme, the Section had accomplished an enormous work in connection with the formation of trusts in the Metal Industry. The capitalistic economy had already introduced a useful concentration of factories of similar specialities and the concentration of similar kinds of industry in special factories. The working-class introduced the same methods in order to economise human labour and materials.

The first attempts to concentrate the factories indicated the essential defect of their previous constitution—their scattered nature. The Section, then, had also to deal with the problem of improving some of the best and most useful types of manufactures. At the same time it became necessary to control distribution and, by the help of the Labour Commissariat and the Trade Unions, to introduce standardised wages and conditions of labour. Finally, an accurate estimate and a regular report of the financial and economic state of the national resources had to be secured.

These were the principal motives for trust formations. The factory administrations, slightly modified, remained in the factories, but had to submit to the trust administrations. In this way all factory groups were combined into one great factory, and every previous factory became its workshop.

Let us explain how such a reform was introduced. In the first place, the Section considered the problem together with the technicians and workers' representatives. Then a Special Committee was organised by the Technical Committee, which adjudicated upon practical details and proposed candidates as members of the trust administrations. Then the question was decided by a conference of workers' representatives and factory administrations in the presence of a delegate of the Trade Union of Working Metallurgists. The Conference chose one-third of the trusts administration and two-thirds were appointed by the Section. The new trusts administration was confirmed by the Metal Section, then by the Department for organising the Industry under the Council of National Economy of the Northern District, and finally by the Superior Council of National Economy in Moscow.

The following trusts were thus created:—

- (1) The Motor-car Industry Trust, concentrating the eight biggest motor-car factories;
- (2) The Avio Industry Trust, concentrating eight factories;
- (3) The Medium-sized Machinery Trust, concentrating at first fifteen metal works, and subsequently another fifteen;
- (4) The Central Trust of the Copper Industry, concentrating four metal works;
- (5) The Heavy Industry Trust, concentrating such metal works as Putilovski, Nevski, Franco-Russian, etc., etc.;
- (6) The Mass-Fabrication Trust, concentrating at first eight of the biggest factories in the horse-shoe nail industry and the copper and armature industry.
- (7) The Precision Apparatus and Clock Industry, concentrating ten factories of precision apparatus and three clock shops.

In this way seven trusts were formed. It must be noted that the trust formations began through the initiative of the factory administrations. The Medium-sized Machinery Trust was created by the initiative of the technical personnel of the Lessner Metal Works. At the same time we do not disguise the fact that during the development of the trusts an unhealthy phenomenon appeared in a tendency on the part of district organisations to conceal local conditions from the central superior economic organisations. Many unnecessary journeys to Moscow were caused in this way, because it was easier thus to obtain money and materials, supplies often being contrary to those the conditions of the Northern District demanded. This fact influenced the execution of programmes so much that the Councils of National Economy, Trade Unions and Metallurgists were obliged to adjudicate upon it; because the real control of the economic organisations in the districts was one of the necessary conditions for organising the industry effectively.

#### PROVISION AND ACCOUNTANCY IN RELATION TO METAL WARES

In the early days of the Section the accountancy for and the provision of metal wares was its chief problem, and its importance increased with the organisation of the industry. The Section found the right way for this unaccustomed work by using the existing capitalistic organisations for similar work. There existed in Petrograd the Petrograd Committee for Distributing Metals created during the German war for regulating the provision of metals to all the organisations and factories serving the army, and the "Prodameta"—the syndicate of metallurgical factories. These two organisations together formed the nucleus for the Department for distributing to and providing for the Metal Section. A College was put at the head of that Department, but until the year 1919 it was impossible for the work to be done owing to the unsatisfactory clerical and administrative personnel. The Department consisted of two sub-divisions (a) accountancy and (b) distribution and provision.

The stock-taking was begun in June, 1918, but only the nationalisation of the depôts, realised in January, 1919, permitted a real stocktaking of the metal works, through the sectional control of all sources of metal materials. At first all the depôts and shops were sealed up, and little by little in cases of need they were unsealed. But it is only now—at the beginning of May, 1920—that we are proceeding to make a complete inventory of metals and metal wares.

To estimate needs was another problem to be dealt with by the Section. This was very difficult, because of the very bad reports presented by the administrations and departments. They gave quite inaccurate information, and only after numerous scandals and conflicts did it become possible at last to put the work on a proper basis.

We, of course, had faults and made errors, but we are learning, and we shall use our present experience next year, so as to avoid previous errors.

The following are the causes which hindered the stocktaking. At first a great number of District Offices acted like Central Departments and took goods and materials on account. Another cause which hindered the stocktaking was the wobbling politics in regard to foreign subjects. The phrase "trade by barter," created special commercial missions, delegations, courts and agents working in the names of Governments, but simply camouflaging speculation. All these criminals were defended by the attaches of Foreign Embassies. After the October Revolution, and still more after the decree for the Nationalisation of Trade, the Russian merchants struck fictitious bargains with foreign merchants, and in this manner hid their goods in the depôts of the Embassies. This struggle with the pernicious work of foreigners' depôts only came to an end recently.



The subdivision for the Provision of Goods and Materials bases its plans on the advice of the Bureau for Estimating Needs and Industrial Resources. The work of the subdivision for Distribution is clear without explanation. The subdivision for controlling Nationalised Depôts and the subdivision for Financial Stocktaking were recently organised. The making of the inventory of metal wares, which has now been begun, will at last give a basis for the work of the Department.

This is a summarised statement of the work of the Metal Section, but it illustrates the working machinery of the Section which we hope to continue in the future.

The war which brought the shortage of fuel on the one hand, stopped the organising work of the Section, whilst on the other it increased the export of ready-made goods. In this way the essential machinery was stopped, and methods for controlling the industry socialistically could not be maintained.

Nevertheless, the practical experience acquired by the Section has an enormous value, and after the war, with an improvement in the fuel conditions, a new socialist economy will be created.

*Interview with the Centrosious*

Notes from the Diary of MARGARET BONDFIELD

A. A. Purcell and I went to the headquarters of the Centrosious (Central Union) on June 2, with Rosinsky as interpreter. We met the Chairman, Lajava; Pilojovsky and Voikoff. The Chairman was an old Co-operator, Chairman of the Workers' Co-operative Society, with which he was an active worker for 27 years. When the amalgamation of all the Co-operative Societies was completed, he was elected chairman by the first Conference of the All-Russian United Co-operative Movement in the Centrosious.

*Structure:* This conference was composed as follows: Every province has a conference which elected delegates to the All-Russian Conference. The next All-Russian Conference takes place on July 5, 1920.

The decisions of this conference on all internal affairs of the Centrosious are final and authoritative, and do not need the approval of the Government. Resolutions relating to production and distribution of goods will be submitted for endorsement to the Soviet Government, because during this transition period they are working in complete harmony with the economic plan of the State.

*Plan for transition period:* Goods are divided into two categories:—

(1) *State Monopoly Articles*—e.g., wheat, bread, coal, sugar, textiles, fur, clothing, timber. In all these things the Centrosious carry out the orders of the Government, the plan being that all products are handed over from the factory to the State, which redistributes through the Centrosious according to orders. They work to the tariffs and categories arranged by the Supreme Economic Council.

(2) *Non-Monopoly Articles:* In this class of goods the Centrosious functions as a voluntary organisation, without reference to the State, which is not directly concerned in this class of output. Nevertheless, in these goods also the Centrosious adopts the economic plan, and works along the lines of the same tariff and categories—i.e., the goods are distributed according to the greatest need for efficient workers, and not according to the ability of purchase, and those who work get first served according to the Labour Dépôt ticket. Under this heading they are starting a number of little co-operative productive concerns for making buttons, bootlaces, etc.—perhaps two or three people in a village. All products from these small groups are collected by the Centrosious and redistributed. They give every possible assistance and encouragement to these voluntary groups, and all this side of their activities is independent of the Government, although encouraged by it.

The small Co-operative Agricultural Societies still exist independently, but are linked up with the Centrosious. When Agricultural Co-operative Productive Societies are now started by Communists, they apply to the Board of Agriculture for land, but they work it under the control of the Centrosious.

The Centrosious is represented directly on the Collegiums of the Labour Department, the Food Control Department and the Supreme Economic Council, and consequently on all the Regional Committees of these bodies. The Chairman has the right to attend all meetings of the People's Commissaries and to place his views before them, although they have no members or voting rights on that body. The above Collegium also have representation on the Centrosious, so there is a double line of co-ordination.

*Membership:* The old method of membership by shares is abolished. All citizens of whatever class are members of the Co-operative Societies. There is no individual payment and no dividends. Every citizen has the right to vote,

but only the workers (*i.e.*, those who hold a labour ticket showing they are employed in some form of service to the Community) have the right to be nominated for election to the various boards of management. There is "No Compulsion" to be a member of the Co-operative Movement, but those who, on principle, will not get their supplies through that channel, are dependent upon the speculators, as there is no other source.

The Chairman asserts there is as much conscious co-operation under their plan as there is under any plan of joining for the sake of dividends. All the time they are educating the mass in the principles of co-operation, as laid down by Robert Owen. The rewards they hope the people will want most are the respect and appreciation from their fellow-men of good work done for the community, and not a greater share of material things. Where the idea of "dividend" is rooted out, they will replace it with an ambition to excel in powers of social service.

Many of the members are still passive, just going on the lines of the least resistance, but an increasing number are active and enthusiastic supporters of the new economic plan.

*Price-fixing of Wages:* There is still buying and selling for money in the operations of the Centrosioius, but the policy is to eliminate money altogether, and an increasing volume of trade by exchange in goods is operating, and exchange of goods for labour is rapidly increasing. The devaluation of the rouble "has caused most workers to joyfully accept payment in kind instead of in money." For example, it is the policy to encourage greater productivity by giving a premium for quantities in excess of the standard of production. This premium was given to the Factory in a lump sum of money. This sum is distributed to the individuals on the decision of the Shop Committee. Extra food is given to those who work overtime.

Yesterday (June 1; 1920), at a meeting of the Council of the People's Commissaries, it was agreed to provide a special reserve fund so that in future this premium shall be given in kind, and the basis of value will be a labour unit. Already they have instituted the system of free dinners, and are now discussing giving free suppers also. That will be the main proportion of the total food supply of the workers.

*Export Trade and Foreign Concessions in Russia:* Instructions are first to deal with Co-operators everywhere. Krassin has taken to London a statement in regard to concessions. With regard to export trade, they propose to continue to use prices. If they want to buy machinery in exchange for timber, they will take the value of each according to their representatives' report of prices prevailing in the markets of—*e.g.*, London, New York, or wherever the transaction is made, for the convenience of foreign buyers and sellers; but for their part, it will simply be exchanging so many labour units, raw material, or goods for goods. They take upon themselves the serious obligation of satisfying their customers abroad, will deliver to sample—*e.g.*, if the wheat to be sold is dirty, the sample will be dirty, because they have not yet machinery to clean their wheat. They mean to clean their wheat—unlike the old capitalists, who only cleaned their samples.

*Brief History of the Transition Period and Future Policy:* When the Revolution first broke out, the Soviet Government recognised the importance to their economic policy of the Co-operative movement. They nursed it in every possible way, and treated it as a pet child. But the Co-operators, who were Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries, could not or would not grasp the great conception of economic change. They were also political enemies of the Government. For two and a-half years the Soviet has had the passive and sometimes active opposition of some of the Co-operative leaders. Earlier still, in the first



year of war, many Co-operative Societies became a bunch of speculators and profiteers just like the capitalists. By slow degrees, local Societies were won over, but up to April, 1920, the Central Management was much the same as before. But now they have "removed all obstacles."

When the Government required the Co-operative Societies to start the new form of organisation, the right wing were still political enemies; some were forced to resign; some resigned voluntarily; the rest accepted the new plan, notably Hinchuck (a Menshevik), who was the first Chairman of the Moscow Soviet. Thousands of the old Co-operators are now working well with the new plan, and with the Communists. Of the administrative staff of 2,500 connected with the Centrosius, the majority were here before the Revolution, and most of them have accepted the Communist economic principles; all the staff are now co-operating in the work.

The development which the Chairman expects to take place in the near future, is the handing over of the Food Control Department's functions to the Centrosius, so that there will be one central authority, departmentalised for the distribution of all commodities, and that gradually their productive works will extend, working in harmony with the Government's economic plan, but more and more returning to the voluntary co-operative principles laid down by Robert Owen.

*Further Notes from the Diary of Margaret Bondfield.*

May 27.—I have to-day seen a number of individuals, many of whom are strongly opposed to the Bolshevik regime, and some of whom have left written statements to be brought back.

The most important conversation was, perhaps, that with the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Co-operative Union, Julianinsky. He began by saying: "I will tell you a Russian parable. Knowing that you are interested in Co-operation, we sent across to ask you to come and see us. When you kindly consented to do so, we immediately called a representative meeting of the heads of the departments. There are 5,000 employed, and this meeting agreed to ask you to come over to speak to us; but as there is a body called the Extraordinary Commission, which is very interested in co-operators, inside and outside, the principal heads refused to have anything to do with this meeting, because they did not want your visit to be followed by a visit from the Extraordinary Commission. As all the principal men refused to come, those that remained could not have given you the necessary information. Therefore, I have come to ask you to postpone your visit until next week." I, of course, said that I was quite willing to do that, but that I would like to ask him some questions if he was willing to discuss matters with me; and he said that he was quite willing to tell me anything I wished to know. He then said in effect that the Committee of Management of the Co-operative Society was appointed by the Government; that individual members had ceased to pay anything. It was no longer a voluntary organisation; that it was changed from a voluntary to a State machine; that there were three members of the Co-operative now in prison, not because they were co-operators, but because they were members of the Social Revolutionary Party.

Having said this, Julianinsky proceeded to say most emphatically that the opinion of all Co-operators was absolutely changed. Some of them had been in favour of intervention, and some had actively assisted in the counter revolution; but that they are confident now that only by leaving Russia alone can she secure for herself the right government. Economically speaking, the position in Russia is very bad indeed. They cannot breathe because of the blockade. They implore the British workers to hasten the raising of the blockade.

Julianinsky continued stating he was eleven years in prison under the Czar. He himself is a Social Revolutionary, and he thinks the Mensheviks are now holding the same position with regard to the futility of intervention.

The Co-operative employees are all paid by the Government according to scale. Their wages are 3,000 roubles. They cannot live on that. People have to sell everything and are still hungry. Since he came out of prison, two years ago, he has lost 60 lbs. in weight. He then told us of the terrible sufferings of last winter. Many of them had no overcoats. There were 15 to 16 degrees of frost; feet and fingers were frozen off; even inside the houses of some people there were 5 and 6 degrees of frost. He declared that the administration of the Co-operative movement was not as good as it was before the Government took it over; that what took two days before, now takes five or six days. (His companion Grengrus, dissented from this criticism). Before the Revolution they worked on idealistic grounds; now there was too much bureaucracy. If you want a pen, you must fill in six papers; you must have passes to take out parcels, and passes to enter public buildings. His companion again dissented from this criticism, and stated that he thought Julianinsky was not quite fair in his criticism; that the Soviet had had to deal with dishonesty and treachery during

the transition period. Both agreed that the blockade had in effect lowered the vitality of the whole nation, and in spite of all their best endeavours, it was threatening life itself for large numbers of people. "They do not die quickly, they simply do not live as long."

May 30.—We drove to a stud farm about 18 versts out of Moscow. Owing to a puncture our car stopped outside one of the peasant schools. I asked permission to go in. As it was Sunday the school was closed, but there were two clean rooms almost bare of any teaching apparatus except a blackboard. There were places for 100 scholars with three qualified teachers. I asked them what they needed in the school. They said everything. "We have no apparatus, no books, no modelling clay, no pens, pencils or ink. We teach orally, and we use the simplified spelling, but we have no books or printed matter in the new spelling." The sanitary arrangement was primitive—earth closets and a long drain as a urinal, with no water flush. The scarcity of water owing to the drought made it exceedingly difficult to keep the place clean. The teachers assured me that this lack of equipment was common to all the peasant schools, and again we heard a plea for the raising of the blockade and the opening-up of trade.

We reached Svertlu-Gorah. This stud farm is under the direct control of the Board of Agriculture. There are 124 desiatins of land, most beautifully situated. There was good stable accommodation. They had there 42 race-horses. A very beautifully constructed wooden house with large verandahs was now serving the purpose of guest house for visitors, and recreation house for those who worked on the estate. Some of the people now employed had been on the estate before the war, notably the old occupier of this house, who was now the manager of the stud farm. He had been a very well-known jockey, and his room was lined with pictures of races in which he had won. Their purpose is to breed not merely for speed, but "for beauty of action and of form," and they desire later to provide sport for the people by racing; but they would forbid betting.

We were given a most excellent lunch: a vegetarian soup, eggs, millet porridge, and coffee made from bean and corn roasted. I noticed that although eggs were placed on the table, only members of the delegation and visitors ate eggs. The others made up with large helpings of kasha porridge. When we asked how it was that we had such good rations, they said the Government made special arrangements for them to entertain visitors, and they themselves were allocated rations from the products of the estate. They directed attention to the fact that we had no meat, and they said they would not have any more meat until the winter came again. Everything we ate and drank was grown on the estate. The vegetable garden was in its infancy; they were everywhere trying to persuade the peasants to plant vegetables, and in a place like this they were bringing up the seed under glass, and distributing the small plants to the peasants. They also went in for rabbit-breeding. They had a very fine lot of Angora rabbits, which they kept for shearing purposes, and not for skinning. These rabbits are sheared once a month, and the wool is spun and made up into garments. The rabbits were in good condition. A Frenchwoman was in charge, and Mr. Tom Shaw had an opportunity of talking with her. She had been a French governess before the Revolution, and when the backs of the others were turned, she spat in contempt of the work she was now doing. She said she was not allowed to go home. All the same I could not help contrasting her comparatively favourable situation from the purely material point of view with that of the great mass of the dwellers in Moscow.

After seeing the horses and walking over the estate, we got back to Moscow in time to go to the Opera—"Faust." We were particularly asked to come because it was entirely new scenery and costumes. The whole thing had been attempted on too ambitious a scale for the size of the stage. There was too much Hell,



with the ingenious device of having the stage divided, showing Hell below, and the other region—which seemed even more unpleasant—above, giving one the impression that the artists on the top storey were constantly in danger of toppling over the edge. It was the only entertainment I saw in Russia which I did not like at all. In every place of entertainment 75 per cent. of the tickets were allocated to the workers through their Trade Unions. We were usually given seats by arrangements with the Actors' Trade Union, which controls the allocation of seats; and on most occasions I occupied a seat somewhere at the back of the theatre, where I was not taken any notice of at all. On the occasion of visiting "Faust," I was seated in a box at the back of the pit, and there was quite a gay company in the box next to me. Suddenly, to my surprise, a lady leant over and said: "Can I lend you a pencil?" and then she proceeded in a perfectly unemotional voice to ask if it was safe to talk to me. I had to let her exercise her judgement on that point. I found that she was one of the actresses; she was very anxious to get out of Russia, and she wanted very much to come and have a talk with me. I told her I should be delighted to see her at my hotel, and asked her to ring me up, as I thought it was a little difficult to get into details there. However, although she said she would ring me up the next morning about 10 o'clock, she failed to do so.

*May 31.*—To-day is the Orthodox Church Whitsun holiday. All Moscow bells are ringing. Services in all the churches. The factories are closed. So we have decided to visit a dairy-farm at Buturski Utol. This was an experimental farm before the war, and is now also an agricultural school as well as a dairy farm. They want to make it a place for training experts. The milk is sent to the hospitals for nursing mothers, children and the sick. The milk is run over ice, direct from the cans. They used to filter it through gauze. As they now have no gauze, they have to filter it through clean linen towels. They had machines for filling and stamping the bottles, but there are no bottles and no corks, so that these machines are gradually getting rusty from disuse. The bottle-cleaning machinery is rusty and broken; the brushes are worn out. The dairy must have been originally well-fitted with up-to-date machinery, but the only machine now working in that section is the one for cleaning the cans. They have electric motor-power which has been fitted up quite recently. The stock are all Russian cows, stall-fed. The yield has diminished owing to lack of fodder; the cows used to yield 4,000 litres per head per year. The same cows now yield only 3,000 litres. They have the same fodder—sunflower seed and hay—but they cannot get it in sufficient quantities. At this dairy they had 110 cows. Before the war they used always to kill the calves and buy fresh cows for the milk; but now they are keeping their calves, and they have 35 which they are bringing to full growth. In small farms around Moscow they have 250 other cows. The milk is all reserved for the children and the sick. They employ at this farm 100 workers, and they have 35 scholars who are to graduate and go to other farms. They have also a fruit-tree nursery. Last autumn they distributed 5,000 apple trees to peasants. Before the war they used to sell three-year-old apple trees for 75 kopeks each, they now sell five-year-old trees for 100 roubles each. They have a fresh kitchen-garden which they never had before, and they are growing cabbage, marrow, lettuce. They have special drainage for the marrows. They are very ambitious to get their marrow up to 100 lb. weight.

This co-operative farm is about 27 years old. It was started by a group of progressive people who were under the suspicion of the police for being so revolutionary as to want to start anything co-operatively. One of the original founders is still here as manager of the farm. He expressed himself as being proud of the fact that it had been a self-supporting institution all those years, but he was quite glad now that the Board of Agriculture was taking it over as a

State Farm, because he said they needed more capital to extend the work and to develop it. He showed with great pride an 88-acre field of rye, and said that it was the best crop he had seen in 27 years. He does not remember rye ripening so early.

The tree-nursery occupied about 25 acres. The farm itself was 850 acres. We were asked to go into the house where the workers lived. We found the rooms decorated with the Whitsun branches and the lights burning before the ikon. They pointed with pride to the improvement in the housing; the old style was one room for eight men: the new building which they have put up gives two rooms to each family. They are building a new large house of two storeys, where they hope to give even larger accommodation per head. Their ambition is to reach the point where every grown-up person may have a room to himself if he so desires. Around the new building they proposed to have flower gardens. Here again we asked for statistics of production, and we were told that roughly speaking the manager estimated there had been a decrease of about 15 per cent. in the productive capacity compared with 1914; and he attributed that largely to the fact that they had lost so many of their best workers, who had been drafted off to the war. They still had 100 employed, but they were now mostly women, and much less experienced than the men whom they had replaced. In the old days they paid men one and a-half times more than they paid the women; but now the difference in pay is about 5 % less than the men. If a woman does exactly the same work she gets the same pay, which is 1,460 roubles a month. They got 6 lbs. of pork during April; they get 2 lbs. of flour and  $\frac{1}{2}$  lb. of millet,  $\frac{1}{2}$  lb. of beans, 1 lb. of pickled cabbage, and where there are children they have an additional ration of one bottle of milk per day, for which they pay 4 roubles, and 20 lbs. of flour per month, for which they pay 400 roubles. This is the only farm left where children are not fed free of charge. It has only been nationalised six months. The Soviet proposes to add another 120 desiatins to this farm, and they quite anticipate that it will be brought under the same regulations with regard to rations and wages as all the other State Farms.

We had an opportunity of talking to this old manager quite freely, and I think there is no doubt but that he is whole-heartedly supporting the Revolution, and is loyally working with the new system, although he is not a member of the Communist Party. He seemed to be genuinely delighted with the encouragement which the Government was giving to this co-operative enterprise. He several times made reference to the fact that electricity had been installed by the Soviet.

On returning to the hotel I found a message from a local artist stating that Madame Lunarcharsky had invited us to occupy the Soviet box at a circus, where it was anticipated there would be some charming singing and dancing. Miss Mansfield called for us, and when we arrived we found the place shut up, and we were informed that no play could be performed as it was the Church holiday. The artists were willing, but they were told that no light would be given in any case, so that it was no good for them to go to the theatre. We therefore returned to the hotel, where Adrian Mansfield played and sang her own compositions. We had a Tolstoyan in to supper, one of the Trade Unionists. He spoke without the slightest hesitation in criticism of Communism. He said he was not a Communist, but he whole-heartedly and enthusiastically supported their economic changes.

*June 1.*—Purcell and myself started early for a visit to Chatura Electricity Works and peat bog. En route we went over the great Kazan station called "The Gateway to the East." Although in use, it was barely half finished. They are only able to spare 300 men to work on it. It wants at least 1,100 to get on with the work properly.



In the train one of our Trade Union colleagues belonging to the Woodworkers' Union read extracts from the *Railway Journal*, detailing certain punishments which had been meted out for strikers. I gathered that the Superintendent and the Engineer were respectively fined two weeks and one month's imprisonment (this time is taken out of their holidays) because they had been unable to prevent the strike.

We had been told when we started that it would take us two hours to reach Chatura; we should spend two hours there, and two hours coming home again. As a matter of fact, we found ourselves hitched on to a goods train, and we wandered along for hours to cover the 60 miles to Chatura. Instead of arriving at about 11 a.m., we arrived at 6 p.m.

We went over a great new colony in the making. A walk of some distance from the station brought us first to the hotel, a building in course of erection, which, when finished, will be a delightfully arranged hotel with a beautiful hall for meetings, and a big dining room. This is to be the headquarters of the Traders who come to deal with this community, as well as the place where guests can be entertained who come down to visit the Works. This has been built entirely by members of the Woodworkers' Union, and they were quite justly proud of the progress they had made.

We then proceeded to visit the Carpenter's Shops and the Bakery, then to the houses and a Village Hall. Finally, after passing a number of newly-built wooden houses in the middle of the clearing, we reached a light railway running the whole length of the peat bog. These peat bogs are worked by gangs of thirty, each gang having its own dormitory, kitchen, library and dining-room in relation to the shift. The digging of the peat is very hard work; they work in four-hour shifts. Two of the workers had invented a method of pressing the peat by electrical machinery. The peat, as it comes up the rotary belt, is wetted by girls, who dip buckets of water out of the peat bog, and throw it on the peat. It moves into a press, and comes out in great flat cakes. These cakes are set to dry; then the girls are again employed in stacking the dried peat, which dries in the form not of bricks, but of logs, and is used for making electrical power. The peat cutters are the peasants, who only work for  $2\frac{1}{2}$  months, from the time of the melting of the snows to the end of the drying season. They are paid by the gang, and paid in kind for bonuses. This year they were paid 600 roubles to 800 roubles per day, as well as the payment in kind. They are very favourably situated; they probably get better rations than at most places. The peasants were very difficult at first; they finally had to make it on this basis of contract. They fortunately had two resolute men at the head of the experiment. We were given an interesting contrast between the administration as conducted here and as compared with another peat bed under the control of the Railway Central Administration. Here at Chatura they said 105 people had handled 70,000,000 poods of peat, while the Railway Central Administration had taken 283 people to handle 6,000,000 poods. The management here had had difficulty to get their own way. They had had to make it a Cabinet matter. But now they were allowed to carry out their experiment in their own way, and they were making splendid progress. The two head men who are in charge, have been here from the beginning of the experiment three years ago, when the village—the carpenter's shop, the schools and the great peat beds that we saw now working with their thirty pressing stations—was nothing but wood and swamp.

We passed on to the great electricity station, the first of many that they hoped to extend all over the country. From these generating stations they propose to supply all the power needed for productive enterprises, as well as for the electrification of railways, etc.

The village goes to school every Sunday, and the comrade in charge of the educational section seems an extremely competent and well-educated woman.



## THE RAZANSKY EXPERIMENT

June 3.—Journeyed to Razan in company of Purcell, Tchabanoff (a member of the Building Trade Union), and Rozinsky. We were provided with a special carriage containing a sitting-room and coupées, very beautifully carved wood-work and birds'-eye maple panelling; but alas! the door of the carriage was locked, and the whole train was delayed 30 minutes while they hunted for the key. We sprang in at last when the train started, and then we found that the coupées had not been cleaned since their last occupation, and, judging by the dishevelled state of everything, they had been most untidy people. We threw open the windows and cleaned up as well as we could, but without discussion we all decided to remain in the sitting-room. Again we were linked on to a goods train, and had to possess our souls with what patience we could while our engine was uncoupled and used for shunting at various points. We went through much finer country than any we had yet seen, and we finally reached our destination at 3 a.m. on June 4.

June 4.—We had come down to see the Razansky Province (Gubernia) experiment. Here, just out of the town had been some old barracks. These had been handed over to the group of members belonging to the Building Trade Union, who had undertaken to develop a community. They were allocated 1,000 desiatins of land, and they were working under the direct control of the State Department—*i.e.*, they were not subject to interference from the local Gubernia. Four hundred desiatins had already been laid out. They were very anxious about their cabbages, etc., on account of the drought. They had 70 desiatins of fruit and 60 desiatins of garden produce in another part of the estate. The ration here was  $\frac{1}{2}$  lb. of bread daily, 10 lbs. of flour per month in addition. Most of the people down here keep their own poultry, and have no need to buy. They have a little meat; they have a communal kitchen where 700 people can dine together. Those who have large families can fetch their food from the communal kitchen and take it home. The number employed was 1,150, of whom 284 are women. Seven full-time officers were appointed to carry out the executive duties. The work was divided into three departments: education, food, and buying. Each Committee is elected for six months. The majority of workers can recall unfit officers, or those who have not proved capable of carrying out their duties. A House Committee deals with sanitation and housing. The management of the Department consists of five persons, one from the Trade Union, one from the Economic Council, one from the Building Department, one from the Central Committee of Trade Unions. All the orders come through the Trade Union, who make arrangements with the Labour Department about fresh housing, sanitation, etc. This committee of management has direct representation on the Co-operative Society, and on the People's Commissariat of Food. We were introduced to the heads of these various departments, and then proceeded to go through the shops.

In the Carpenter's Shop the principal work was the making of army huts. These were made of double 3-ply backed with black oiled paper, and the huts could each be assembled in eight hours by six men. They had no putty, so they were using cement for fastening in windows. They declared this is much stronger. We found sheds which were stocked with the parts, which were being sent off to the front as fast as they could get them on the rails. Chairs, wardrobes and all kinds of furniture, hat racks, wooden privy pans, were also being made in the carpenter's shop.

In the general office the manager very proudly told me that they were putting the Taylor System into operation here! They have a Time-fixing Committee composed of two workers and two directors, and they fix the wages. They had a system of fines, of 10 per cent. the first offence, 15 per cent. the second offence.

This fine is deducted from the premiums and not from the wages. Workers are given a card showing time lost, changes in the nature of the work, etc.

In fixing the point at which premium bonus begins, the Wages Committee takes 30 per cent. of the pre-war output as a minimum, and on that they make three deductions, (1) for poor food, (2) for defective machinery, and (3) for the present condition of rationing. When the output reaches the pre-war level, they add 165 per cent. The workers are all provided with overalls free. The solderers, all women, can earn 125 roubles per week. It was interesting to note that in the carpenter's shop, women were using planes, mitre blocks and saws, and were also hammering nails. When Mr. Purcell remarked that they would not be allowed to handle these tools at home, the manager stated that the women were more dexterous; that it was a mistake for men to think that because they were stronger they were really cleverer at the work; and that much of this work was better done by the women, because they had a finer touch. The women were, however, employed equally with men in all the heavy work on the estate. We saw them carrying great planks on their shoulders over most uneven roads.

From the carpenter's shop we passed on to the tin shop. They had a very large store of tin plates, mostly from South Wales. They were making tin kettles, cups and cans for the use of the army, and turning them out at a good rate, in spite of the fact that they had not the full complement of the necessary machinery. I was greatly impressed by the resourcefulness with which these people overcome their difficulties. For example, they have no wires for wiring the kettles—they therefore make kettles without wire. They would be of very little use in the Western competitive market, but they are quite satisfactory for the purpose for which they are needed, namely, for boiling water; and as nobody wants to make a profit out of them, they are quite satisfied with the product. They have no wire nails, so they make wooden nails. They are making very large quantities of the lasts upon which the peasants make their own shoes. Out of the odds and ends of tin they are making brads and paper fasteners. Both in the carpenter's shop and in the tin shop they have to resort to hand processes, because they lack the necessary number of machines.

We came to the great engine shop. They have a 200-h.p. Diesel engine which is working well with naptha oil. The engine house is far too small for what they want, and in order not to interrupt the work, they are building a new engine house over the existing one.

They showed us the railway that was laid down through the length of the estate, and they had got their own engine. This rail has paid for itself in less than 18 months in the saving on horse haulage.

Here, also, there was the education department, the head of which showed me the programme of the amateur dramatic club. They had been putting on the Russian classics, Tolstoi, Tchekov, etc. They had translations of Jack London's books, H. G. Wells, and Marxian pamphlets in the library, as well as other Russian literature.

There were crèches provided for the children. These were simple and clean. We saw the children at dinner; they looked a splendidly healthy lot of children, and were getting milk soup with vegetables. Each crèche contained rows of little cupboards, and each child was trained to keep its own toys and modelling clay, etc., in its own cupboard. They had tidied up their playroom before the meal. They were sitting at little tables in little low armchairs, which had been made in the carpenter's shop.

They have a flour mill where they not only mill the flour used in the colony, but they also mill flour for the peasants from the surrounding farms. Their charge is 4 lbs. out of every 40 lbs. milled. They do not take any money from the peasants, but they require to be paid in flour. Here, too, because of the

possibility of stable accommodation, and because they have land for exercising them, the wounded horses are brought. The veterinary surgeon is in charge, and they showed us with great pride six horses that had been brought to them a short time ago in a very shattered condition who were now nearly fit for active service again, and one of the workers naïvely said: "You are told about Bolshevik atrocities: see how we care for our horses."

We got back to our coupées about midnight to find that the carriage had been cleaned, disinfected, clean beds made up, and bread, butter, eggs, and milk had been provided for our breakfast *en route*. We had a most comfortable journey back to Moscow.

### VISIT TO THE RUSSIAN-AMERICAN TOOL SHOP

June 7.—On Monday, June 7, we visited the Russian-American tool shop which had been in existence ten months, and had been created by 70 deported immigrants from America. It now employs 150 men in the tool shop proper. Women were employed in the laundry and cook-house connected with the works.

The cook-house and laundry are under the control of the Food Department. The factory is under the control of the Economic Council. The cook-house provides cooked dinners and suppers to the workpeople. A very large number of the workers in this factory spoke English, and we were able to discuss theoretical as well as practical matters with them. One man told me that they had no task work in the shop, but they depended upon educational propaganda to get fair service from the individual worker; that the factory was not judged by its power to support itself. The rates paid were fixed by the Union, and on top of the rate which everybody got, independent of output, they had a system of premiums by which a man may get from 100 to 200 per cent. more than the rate. They had two classes of inspectors; the Union elected the factory inspectors, but the technical inspectors, who judged the work, were appointed by the Economic Council. The inspectors appointed by the Union were mostly women, whose business it was to look after the hygiene and generally the health side of the factory. In addition to making tools, they had a machine in this factory for making dress-fasteners, which had been invented by one of the workmen. When it was working, this machine could turn out 60,000 a day. The shop had decided that in view of the urgent need for greater production, they would work a 12-hour day. They get extra rations for overtime work. This factory was run without a "technical staff"—*i.e.*, they had no drawing office. A number of the men had gone to evening technical schools in America, and the Shop Committee was running the whole place. The factory had been started with a few machines on the ground floor. They had filled the second, and were starting now on the third floor. All the woodwork for the factory was prepared on the spot. In this factory we met one of the deportees who wanted to get back to America: he was disappointed and disillusioned because he had to work just as hard here as in America, and had far fewer of the amenities of life; but the others rather jeered at him, and most of them seemed to take a very great pride in the fact that they had succeeded in building up this factory, and had made a real contribution to the work of the Supreme Economic Council.

### GOVERNMENT AEROPLANE FACTORY

From the Russian-American tool shop we went to the Government Aeroplane Factory No. 2. This belonged originally to a French firm, and when the Revolution broke out, the firm sabotaged the works, destroyed the patterns, and generally left the place in a state of wreck. It had been a long business to get it into anything resembling working order, and it was obviously not working



well. We were told that the place was managed by a Shop Committee of five men, comprising a Fixing Committee of three members; but over all was a Manager and Assistant who worked at the centre. It used to be worked under the control of a College, but that was found not to answer, and it was now practically under a one-man management. The Assistant Director is elected by the workers. They had employed there 260 men and 20 women in the factory with 19 clerks on the staff. Here also there was no piece-work, but a premium-bonus system.

Across the road we were asked to visit the Works Institute. The building was an old German almshouse which has been adapted, providing rest-rooms, library, chess room, etc., for the use of the workers.

*June 8.*—From three different sources this morning I heard of a tobacco workers' strike. The cause of the strike was the taking away of the premium of 1,000 cigarettes per month. The strike was declared illegal. The Trade Union officials ordered the workers back, or alternatively they would be paid off and they would have only unemployed rations. I made very careful inquiries from different sources, and it appears that the cause of the trouble was that these tobacco workers had been in the habit of taking the cigarettes they did not want to smoke to the speculative market and selling them at two roubles each. Other workers, who did not get their premiums in cigarettes—notably the printers and the engineers, whose premiums were not negotiable—entered protests against this. The protests were so powerful that the Central Committee of the Trade Unions had to take the matter up. The workers had been warned against this practice at intervals during the last twelve months. The Moscow Committee decided that drastic action must be taken, so the premium of cigarettes has been reduced to 700 per month.

*(June 9.*—The workers resumed work having accepted the decision of the Moscow Trade Union Committee.)

I heard a number of criticisms of this affair: the case for the workers being that they cannot live on the wages they receive, even including the rations, and that it was inhuman to expect that they would not sell the cigarettes if they had the chance, if, by so doing, they could get a little more food.

## *Report of the Meeting of the British Labour Delegation and the Præsidium of the All-Russian Central Soviet of Trade Unions*

By L. HADEN GUEST

The Meeting took place on May 19, 1920, at 7.30 p.m., at the Trade Union Headquarters in Moscow.

All the members of the Delegation were present; Præsidium of 11 members present. Tomski in the chair, Lozovsky at one side. Tomski is a stockily-built man of about 33 or 34; Lozovsky about 38 or 40, intellectual. Most of the delegates were young men—one about 22. Other Russian Trade Union representatives present from Builders, Woodworkers, Textile workers, Railway, Printers, Water Transport—all of the same type.

The Central Præsidium was elected by All-Russian Congress in Moscow on April 5, 1920. Representatives of separate Unions elected at Annual Congress of Trade Unions. 1,600 delegates at last All-Russian Trade Union Congress, representing "hundreds of towns" in Russia, including those in Siberia and Turkestan. Transport difficulties had only a slight influence on attendance.

1,300 of the delegates were Communists; 33 were Mensheviks. The balance were non-party. The Agricultural Workers were represented, but only by a few delegates, as their Union has only recently been formed, and only recently held its first Annual Congress.

The basis of representation at All-Russian Trade Union Congress is one delegate per 3,000; and over 3,000 one extra delegate for every additional 5,000. Separate Trade Union Congresses—basis of delegate representation is one per 1,000 members.

### *Questions by Lozovsky*

LOZOVSKY: Are there 6½ million Trade Unionists in Britain, or 5 million?

PURCELL answers and gives account of Trades Union Congresses (English, Scottish and Irish), and an account of English Trade Union organisations.

LOZOVSKY: Must a Trade Union simply pay fees, or are there any other requirements for affiliation?

PURCELL recounts recent policy, especially with regard to persuasion of Parliamentary Committee to amalgamate large Unions.

SHAW gives example of textile industry.

LOZOVSKY: Are Unions affiliated to Trades Union Congress asked to accept the principle of the class struggle? Are those who support Liberals and Conservatives allowed to apply?

SHAW suggests drafting historical statement to explain English Trade Union Movement.

### *Questions by Tomski*

TOMSKI: Unions would like such a statement, but are specially interested in recent developments—political and international.

TURNER asks if information required is as to—

- (1) Present policy;
- (2) Connection between Trades Union Congress and Labour Party;
- (3) Connection between Trades Union Congress, Labour Party, and I.L.P.;
- (4) Attitude to International?

TOMSKI would like points mentioned dealt with, and, in addition, a question as to the attitude of Trade Unions in Great Britain during the war.

General discussion on the war. Purcell and Williams consider no good purpose served, and that answers would lead to confusion. After observations by Turner, Tomski, Melnichansky and others, the subject was deferred.

TURNER recounts shortly movements in Trade Union organisation since the armistice, and asks: Is the Trade Union in Russia compulsory? What is the connection between Independent and State Trade Unions? What freedom of Press and action is allowed to Independent Unions?

WILLIAMS considers questions best answered in reply to a definite questionnaire.

TOMSKI: Ask any question! The more sharply and clearly you put the questions the better. We have lived through  $2\frac{1}{2}$  years of Proletarian Dictatorship and are glad to answer.

*Quotations from Tomski's Pamphlet on "Compulsion in Trade Unions"*

"TOMSKI: Trade Unions—striving to improve the economic conditions of the working masses, irrespective of whether they are members of the Trade Unions or not, accepting the responsibility for the smooth working of the enterprises or institutions for labour discipline amongst the toiling masses, and adherence to the statutes which are worked out by the Trade Unions as regards regulation of wages and the productivity of labour—must strive, by means of resolutions carried out by the workers themselves, to introduce compulsory membership in respective enterprises."

Reading carefully this paragraph, anybody not blinded by the party struggle will see that it refers to compulsory membership of the workers of each separate enterprise and institution, but not on a State scale; that, in each case, not the Supreme Trade Union organs are deciding the question, but the workers themselves; and then the matter is placed in its proper perspective—*i.e.*, the Trade Unions must strive to introduce compulsory membership. All this, however, does not in the least exclude the moral influence of the Trade Unions: their cultural and educational work, verbal and printed propaganda; on the contrary the very method "by means of resolutions carried out by the workers themselves" presupposes precisely such work, and indicates the nature of the organisations required to conclude this work.

Where then does violence come in? In order to attain the introduction of compulsory membership on a general scale, a Trade Union of a certain branch of industry has to inaugurate gigantic propaganda and organisational work in order to prepare the masses of the workers engaged in that enterprise to unite all its members, and to use them as an influential group for private propaganda during preliminary meetings and so on. If in some of the enterprises a minority votes against the universal membership, it will certainly have to obey the will of the majority; but since when have Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries considered this violence? Could not the commencement and the ending of a strike be called violence in the same way? Is the expression of the will of the masses and the Workers' Movement itself possible without the voluntary submission of the minority to the majority? Undoubtedly it is only in the heat of dispute that such action could be termed "violence." We Marxists always acknowledge the right of the majority to impose its will upon the minority, and, moreover, consider it the duty of the minority to submit. And, undoubtedly, the whole of the Workers' Movement is built up on such violence—not only moral, but organisational and even physical.

Turning to the explanatory part of paragraph 17, anybody conversant with the Trade Union Movement will notice that the premises and the deductions are new neither in theory nor in practice in the economic movement of the proletariat. The history of the Trade Union Movement shows that the



workers not once succeeded in coming to agreement with their employers as regards the employment of members of Unions only. Moreover, we are well aware of cases where, for the sake of the preservation of a collective agreement, the Trade Unions had to use repressive measures against their own members for breaking agreements. Upon this ground were growing, are growing, and will grow demagogues suffering from hysteria; but the Workers' Movement, based upon discipline and the sacrifice of the interests of the minority to the interests of the class as a whole, will pass by cheap demagogy.

During the campaign for compulsory membership—a result obtainable by stubborn organisational propaganda—the Trade Unions will have to display tact towards the partly-conscious strata of the proletariat, much patience and firmness; but provided they follow the path indicated by the Second Convention of the Trade Unions, they will attain the end they are striving at.

Our tactics differ entirely from those adopted in England or the United States. In those countries the Unions are trying to improve conditions for their own members only; here we are trying to improve conditions for the entire working class. There is no limitation of the rights of non-members of the Union; every worker is exactly equal in wages and other matters. One privilege organised workers have over the unorganised: the Soviet allows the Trade Union to send representatives direct to the Soviet (this is in addition to direct representation from the workshops). This privilege unorganised workers do not have. Organised workers are allowed to obtain certain non-controlled products for members of their Unions. But if products are being distributed in factories they are distributed equally. An unorganised factory gets nothing. Another privilege is that organised workers travel by rail on a lower payment season ticket. Workmen's tickets were introduced before membership of Trade Unions became obligatory to give a privilege to workers over non-workers.

It is important to distinguish between two groups of unorganised workers: (1) the ignorant, and (2) those who have conscientious objection to organisation. A question was asked here as to what action was taken against opponents of Trade Unions.

LOZOVSKY: There is no hard and fast rule of action against opponents—no clear-cut method.

TOMSKI: Trade Unionists have further privileges—special clubs, lectures, tickets for concerts and theatres. (Here someone said that Trade Union members could go in on a Trade Union card. This was denied, and it was stated that tickets were distributed to Trade Unions and paid for by members.)

PURCELL: Certain professors stated to the members of the delegation that they did not wish to join their Trade Union because they were in a small minority in a preponderating mass; but they said that they had been told their pay would be stopped unless they joined.

TOMSKI: This is the most curious thing we have heard. When Mensheviks talk of compulsion we understand these are polemics. The question of preponderance of votes applies to any man; the danger is that a professor might acquire undue influence. I do not know a single town or village where this has happened: intellectuals since they ceased sabotage are in a privileged position; they have special rations on the Red Army scale—"the Paillok," everyone in Russia would laugh to death!

WILLIAMS urged necessity of securing correct translation of any statement.

TOMSKI (continuing): The intellectuals sabotaged the Revolution at the beginning; office papers and records were thrown into the streets; teachers refused to teach; doctors refused to heal the sick. If the intellectuals fight the Soviet, then the Soviet will fight the intellectuals.

*Industrial Organisation and Mobilisation of Labour*

By A. A. PURCELL and ROBERT WILLIAMS

The work of Labour organisation in Russia presents a subject-matter of inquiry which, for the present at least, is unique. Marx and Engels could say to the workers of Russia with more accuracy, perhaps, than to the workers of any other great nation: "Unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains, you have a world to win!"

The delegation interviewed the Executive Council of the All-Russian Trade Union Movement, and a frank interchange of views took place regarding both Russian and British Trade Union methods of organisation. Prior to the Revolution which took place in 1905, Trade Unionism as we understand it in Great Britain did not exist in Russia. At that period every effort was made by the leaders of the workpeople to organise them on craft and sectional lines, much in the form of existing Unions in Great Britain. The non-success of the Revolution, however, enabled the Czarist regime to suppress the new organisations by persecution, repression, and intimidation. After the abdication of the Czar's Government in February, 1917, the new will to Trade Union combination was manifested amongst every section of the workpeople, more especially those in the towns and populous centres. Organisation was built up on the basis of craft and calling rather than of industry. The demand was increasingly made—by the workers themselves much more than by the leaders—for the assumption of control of the factories, workshops and great industrial undertakings. The basis of the Soviets was established more on industrial than on craft lines, and the direct control of industry by the workers during the transitional stage from Capitalism to Communism was essential because of the sabotage organised and well carried out by the bourgeoisie, the technicians, and those holding posts of directive ability. The workers had to be taught self-confidence one in the other by the pressing claims of Russia's economic and industrial conditions.

Before and immediately following upon the Second Revolution, meetings of the various groups of Unions in the industrial centres were convened, and there is evidence in many directions of the desire to build up great organisations representing all the workers employed in a given industry. The representatives of the Russian Trade Union Movement explained to us naïvely enough—"that membership of the various Trade Unions was not 'compulsory,' it was 'obligatory.'" Knowing the antipathy to the "open shop," and the desire of the employers to protect "free labour" in our own country from the influence of Trade Unionism, the effort to make Trade Unionism obligatory in Russia is quite easily understood. Our experiences showed that the outlook of Trade Unionism and of the Trade Unionists in Russia is entirely different from that obtaining in other countries. In countries under the influence of Capitalism there exists an unending struggle between the Unions and the employers for an increasing share of the wealth which the workpeople produce. In Russia, however, Trade Unionism is a social force co-operating with the Soviet Government, the Supreme Council of Public Economy, and with the organisers of industry to secure the maximum output of commodities, to facilitate transport and transit, and to improve the economic status of every member of the community.

The Communist Party, quick to learn from any error and to take advantage of the facts elicited by their own experience, soon realised that control of in-

dustry by "boards" and "collegiates" was not sufficiently effective to meet Russia's paramount needs and requirements. The Trade Unionists, who, with the Communist Party, influence the direction of Russian State operations, joined with them in superseding management by boards and collegiates by management with responsibility vested in the hands of the most competent individual they could discover. It was put to us that the Communist Party, numbering 600,000 members, could be likened to a small cog-wheel which turns a larger cog-wheel representing the Trade Union Movement numbering 4,500,000 members. This in its turn revolves the great wheel of Russia's industrial and agricultural system. The resolutions carried at the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party (March 29 to April 4, 1920), indicate clearly the attitude of mind of those primarily responsible for the direction of Russia's economic and industrial plans. The resolution dealt among other things with the need for increased productivity of labour; expressed gratification with the results already obtained; warned the Communist Party that too much importance should not be attached by exaggerating results. Members of the Party were asked to keep a watchful eye on the manifestation of increased productivity by qualitative, as well as quantitative, criteria. The resolutions went on to call for the introduction of a uniform economic plan to improve transport, facilitate the production and delivery of the indispensable food-stuffs and raw material, in machine construction for transport and manufacturing purposes, as well as increased production of articles for general consumption. The corner stone of the technical side, they say, must be the wide utilisation of electrical energy with all its latest improvements.

Another resolution deals with the "mobilisation of skilled workers." The Congress approved the scheme of mobilising the industrial proletariat in compulsory labour service, "the co-ordination of production and the application of military units to economic needs; the Party decrees that every member should assist the Trade Unions and the Labour Section in registering all skilled workers with a view to employing them in various branches of production and distribution," with the same consistency as was done, and is being carried out, with regard to the directing staff for the needs of the Army. "It is necessary from the very beginning to place the mass mobilisation for labour service on a proper footing; to establish on every occasion exact correspondence between the number mobilised, their place of concentration, the extent of the labour problem in hand, the requisite number of tools and appliances, etc. It is equally necessary to secure technically-competent and politically-enlightened trainers and instructors for all mobilised labour sections."

Karl Radek, Secretary of the Third International, writing upon the mobilisation or organisation of labour, says:—

"If the socialist community has any right at all to throw upon the battle-field hundreds of thousands of workers to shed their blood in the name of the liberation of the entire working-class the more right it has to say to the skilled workers who have dispersed to the villages: 'No surprise is entertained at your having fled to the villages to escape starvation, but the entire country is doomed to ruin and famine unless you return to town. Only by increasing the productivity of locomotive repairs, only by beginning to create transport means as well as means of production can we save the Russian working-class from death by starvation. Just as you are bound to fight for and protect Soviet Russia with arms in hand equally so are you obliged to extend your credit to the Soviet Government which is a government of the working-class.'"



In order to substantiate the statement of Radek, the characteristic declaration of Ziperovitch to the delegation on their reception in Petrograd may be quoted:—

“The Petrograd Workers’ Organisations placed themselves wholly at the disposal of the Communist Party and the Soviet of Red Army and Workers’ Deputies, and under their leadership carried out various military tasks. . . . We have our representatives who work actively in all the Soviet institutions, in the Soviet of Red Army and Workers’ Deputies, in the Communist Party. The Labour Department which manages the protection of labour and social insurance is closely connected with the Trade Unions Council, and follows the decision of the Council with regard to local affairs. The most active workers of the Trade Unions are employed in the chief Bureaus of the Labour Department. In the People’s Economic Council all the sections (textile, metal, foodstuffs, woodwork, organisation of production, etc.) are made up of representatives of the corresponding Unions and the Trade Unions Council. The board of the City ‘Communa,’ which manages the distribution of foodstuffs to the population and to the public eating-houses, is elected at conferences of the shop committees, which serve as units of the Trade Unions, under the general guidance of the Trade Unions Council. The controlling Council of the City ‘Communa’ is organised in a similar manner. In the Workers’ and Peasants’ Inspectorate the Trade Unions possess the majority. In the same way the Trade Unions are represented by a great number of delegated members in every Department of the Soviet of Workers’ and Red Army Deputies.”

Those who have remained in the factories and workshops carry on their duties much as they did before, but it has been explained elsewhere that there have been many drains upon the virile manhood of the workmen of the towns and those employed in industry, and the purpose of the Trade Unions, acting with the Communist Party, is to “dilute” the existing labour and to train men for industrial services much as they are trained for military service in order enormously to augment the number of industrial employees. Hundreds of thousands of the younger peasant class would be naturally anxious to return to their homes, but when it is conveyed to them that agriculture itself will be rendered impracticable unless and until the peasants and the men and women of the countryside can be provided with all those things with which modern industry can furnish them, and when they realise the facts they evince an increasing readiness to put themselves under the direction of the Soviet authorities in industry as they have done in war.

Justification for the mobilisation of labour schemes will be found in the fact that the Red Armies whose services were thrown on to the industrial front after the collapse of the counter-revolutionary movements of Koltchak, Yudenitch and Denikin, were again re-mobilised to resist and thrust back the Polish offensive. The motto of the Soviet Republic is “A rifle in one hand and a hammer in the other,” the one for the battle-front and the other for the industrial front.

*Russian Militarism and the New Patriotism*

By L. HADEN GUEST and ROBERT WILLIAMS

There is one conclusion which has been arrived at by the delegation independently and unanimously, namely, that Russia is witnessing the birth and growth of a new patriotism. Every important section of the people is determined to resist and overcome all forms of external intervention, whether by Poles, Japanese, Americans, or any or all of the great Western Powers. We have seen convincing evidence of national solidarity, in military parades, in gymnastic displays, in demonstrations of the citizens' militia, in the growth of the "Boy Scout" and "Girl Guide" movements among the younger generation, and in other ways too numerous to mention.

The Red Army becomes every day more militarily efficient, and no one realises this more than those who essayed the task of the disastrous Polish offensive. A conversation took place with Alexander Baltiskii, commanding the Volga area, which includes eight Governments, among which are Samara, Saratov, and Astrakhan, who was a former Guards officer, and then on the General Staff. Baltiskii stated that the discipline and the morale of the army were constantly improving, that the army had a large proportion of the officers of the old regime, and that the new officers, whilst their scientific training was defective and their general training not sufficiently long, were working well. He stated that before the Revolution the junior officers were the most oppressed class in the community, and the most insulted, and at the beginning of the war they were frequently heard to apply the worst language to the Empress, coupling her name with that of Rasputin. At a later stage, when the Revolution broke out, the officers were attacked by the men and were in this way forced into opposition, but gradually as Baltiskii and others came in touch with Lenin and Trotsky and came to understand the Bolshevik position they more and more understood what the Revolution meant and supported the Bolshevik Government. Gradually the influence of the centre of the Bolshevik Government is spreading, and more and more the old officers are coming in.

Conversations also took place between members of the delegation and General Kamenieff, Commander-in-Chief, and Skliansky, acting Chairman of the Russian Revolutionary Military Council. Visits were made to the War Office and there appeared to be as much efficiency as in the headquarters of war operations in any Western European country.

One of the first experiences of the delegation of the strength of organisation in the Red Army was seen at a small military parade which took place at Yambourg, following immediately upon our crossing of the Russian frontier. The garrison turned out to give the British delegation a military welcome. Every appearance suggested that the contingent we saw was efficient. Shortly after our arrival in Petrograd, on May 16, we saw an impressive military and naval spectacle in the Ouritsky Square outside the Winter Palace. Detachments of the Petrograd garrison were present in large numbers together with a large section of naval forces which came from Kronstadt. These were under the command of Zelenyi, formerly an Admiral, and now chief of the Baltic Fleet. The naval, military and armed civilian elements in the parade were estimated to number 50,000. The majority of the uniforms of the men were in good condition, and two companies of the Grenadiers had the caps of the old regime with the Communist Star—the distinguishing badge of the

Red Army—in the front. A number of the detachments were men of the Labour Army and appeared to be what would be classed B2 men in this country, but the infantry regiments were A1 men and on the whole their boots, clothing and equipment was good. With the soldiers were companies of machine gunners, with the machine-guns mounted on small carts drawn by ponies. There were three batteries of artillery and two squadrons of cavalry, these latter being Bashkirs. Included in the parade was also a display by the Petrograd Fire Brigade, which consists partly of horse-drawn and partly of motor-driven engines. An interesting feature of the parade was the inscriptions on the banners borne by sections of the Red Army, the Navy, and the civilian Militia alike. Some indicative specimens were as follows:—

“In one hand a rifle; in the other a hammer.”

“Protect the fruits of the Revolution.”

“The English Capitalists are our enemies; the English Workers are our friends.”

“We will not allow the Polish reactionaries to dictate to the Russian people.”

“We have broken the chains of Capitalism; protect the Revolution.”

“Our power rests on Labour Discipline.”

“The Organised Workers have been successful on the Front and in the Navy and must be successful in Industry.”

“Courage and endurance to the Red Hospitals.”

A further military display was held in Moscow on May 18, largely to welcome the arrival of the British delegation. The men parading were between 3,000 and 4,000 in number, and were chiefly those training to become officers. The display took place in the large square before the Opera House, a special stand being erected in the centre for the British delegation. The men were well clothed and of a good type. At a later stage during our stay in Moscow there was a further parade of 1,000 trained officers about to leave for the Polish front. They publicly took the oath of allegiance to the Civil Government of the All-Russian Soviets. The following is a free translation of the Sacred Promise or oath of allegiance:—

FORM OF SACRED PROMISE RATIFIED AT THE SESSION  
OF THE ALL-RUSSIAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF ALL  
SOVIETS OF LABOUR, SOLDIER, PEASANT AND COSSACK  
DEPUTIES ON APRIL 22, 1918.

- 1 I, son of the working people, citizen of the Soviet Republic, take upon myself the name of a warrior of the Labour and Peasant Army.
- 2 Before the working classes of Russia and the whole world, I undertake to carry this name with honour, to follow the military calling with conscience and to preserve from damage and robbery the national and military possessions as the hair of my head.
- 3 I pledge myself to submit strictly to revolutionary discipline and to fulfil without objection every command issued by authority of the Labour and Peasant Government.
- 4 I undertake to abstain from and to deter any act liable to dishonour the name of citizens of the Soviet Republic; moreover to direct all my deeds and thoughts to the Great Aim of Liberation of all Workers.



- 5 I pledge myself to the defence of the Soviet Republic in any danger or assault on the part of any of her enemies at the first call of the Labour and Peasant Government, and undertake not to spare myself in the struggle for the Russian Soviet Republic, for the aim of Socialism and Brotherhood of Nations, to the extent of my full strength and/or my life.
- 6 Should this promise be broken, let my fate be the scorn of my fellows. Let my punishment be the stern hand of revolutionary law.

On May 20, a demonstration was held to commemorate the formation of the Armed Workers' Militia, Sache being the chief commanding officer. Every industrial worker between the ages of 18 and 40 has compulsorily to undergo military training of two-hour drills twice a week. It was estimated that at this parade there were 30,000 workpeople, 12,000 of whom were members of the Communist Party. The parade included sections from the metal workers, the railway workers, building workers, transport workers, food distribution workers, and other sections representing the urban population of Moscow. There were present a detachment of Boy Scouts and a company of Girl Guides, all of whom, on being asked as they passed the British delegation stand whether they were prepared, answered exultantly—"We are prepared."

An interesting gymnastic display of a semi-military character took place on the old racecourse, one of Moscow's sometime fashionable resorts. We saw for ourselves the evidence of the new physical, gymnastic, and military training and its effect on the younger generation. The training appears to produce not only a new virility, but a new national pride and patriotism.

The civilian militia is in a constant state of preparedness for immediate mobilisation in case of civil, military, or political emergency. While the display proceeded, aeroplanes flew overhead and dropped literature of a propagandist character.

The military training of all those whose work was of a semi-sedentary character appears to have effected an improvement in general physique and stamina.

On May 26 the Army Physical Culture School was visited at the time of one of their ordinary weekly displays. There were several bouts of boxing, fencing, work on the parallel bars, and weight-lifting and the students are being trained not as individuals but as teachers, with the object of their being distributed over Russia and Siberia. They belong to all classes of the population, their physique was good, and the school was very much assisted by the presence of some of the best-known sportsmen in Russia.

Attached to the Physical Culture School was a kind of club or canteen, wherein was exhibited a spirit of friendship and camaraderie of a very pleasant character.

No statement regarding Russia's military preparedness can be complete unless reference is made to the provision made for supplies of munitions and materials of war. Even though it means lack of adequate clothing for the civilian population the Army is well clothed and relatively well-shod. Every human effort is bent upon supplying the Red Armies with full military equipment and the delegation witnessed for themselves at Putiloff and other works of a similar character the efficient production of light and

heavy artillery. Tanks were being constructed at Sormova, a military establishment on the Volga. Members of the delegation who could speak with authority, stated that in their opinion the aeroplane works visited were equal to many of the aeroplane factories in existence in Great Britain during the war. Our one comment upon the production of munitions of war is to say that if all the workpeople therein engaged were allowed to apply their energies and efforts to civil and social reconstruction, Russia would be in a far better position for food, clothing and appurtenances of civilised life than she is to-day.

There are, of course, two schools of thought amongst the Communists and the Soviet authorities regarding policy. One school—small in numbers—looks for expansion in the East and a growing intervention in Eastern affairs. The overwhelming majority turn their eyes to Western Europe, not in the direction of expansion in the Imperialist sense, but of living in peace with the Western European comity of nations. What passes for the Eastern policy is justified by the Russians themselves as providing a diversion for Great Britain from her organisation of counter-revolutionary forces. At our interview with Chicherin the question of an agreement with Great Britain on Constantinople, India, and Egypt was discussed. Chicherin said that the Soviet Government did not recognise that the Dardanelles could be internationalised as from the Entente. This could only be done by the bordering States, which naturally include Russia. With regard to their Eastern policy in general, Chicherin said that if they were attacked by the British Government their hands were free to do what they thought fit.

*The Blockade and Its Effects*

By ROBERT WILLIAMS

The breakdown of overseas transport operations and facilities, which followed immediately upon the outbreak of war in 1914, imposed an additional strain upon Russia's very limited internal transport, both water and railway. Petrograd and the Baltic coast areas in general were cut off from contact with Western Europe. Odessa, and the whole of the Black Sea littoral was cut off from access to the Mediterranean. We see, therefore, the imminent collapse of Russia's transport system long before the Revolution. The industrial population suffered enormous casualties during the First and Second Revolutions. Following upon the Brest-Litovsk Peace, the urban working-class sustained a fresh drain from their depleted numbers to supply units for the Red Armies. The breakdown of the transport system, following automatically upon, and attributable to, the Allied blockade policy, made it impossible for her to convey to the industrial centres either the food or the raw material which the workpeople required. There was a steady migration of town workers to the country areas in order that they and their dependents might obtain food and could be secure in the agricultural centres. We have seen abundant evidence of the hampering of the transport operations by the prevention of the importation of coal and the shutting-off of supplies of oil-fuel and lubricants.

Large and important tracts of Russia have been overrun by the counter-revolutionary forces of Kolchak, Denikin, Yudenich and hosts of raiding Cossacks, as well as other improvised military forces. The Caspian Sea, only recently released from the influence of the Entente Powers, was closed and the oil supplies of Baku were diverted along the pipe lines to Batum. The coal-producing area of the Donetz Basin was laid waste, mine workings were blown up and flooded in the impotent rage of the counter-revolutionaries. Some tribute of praise at least is due to the Soviet authorities for the manner in which they improvised their workshop and factory boilers, and locomotives to consume wood-fuel, and for the manner in which they have been able to carry on their productive and distributive affairs.

Railway lines have been cut again and again, and the delegation in their journeys east and west, north and south, have seen clear indication of the destroyed railway bridges; locomotives and other rolling-stock pitched over railway embankments; important junctions and sidings recovered and restored only after the most diligent services rendered by the workpeople. The facts of the internal dislocation may be attributed almost entirely to the blockade policy, systematically carried on by the Entente Powers. Another factor which must be borne in mind is the inability to maintain engineering and similar establishments up to their pre-war standard of output. Important key industries and key sections of industries have been deprived of raw material. The engineering and metal-working centres have, therefore, been unable to provide agricultural implements, machines, etc., to exchange with the peasants in return for the all-important foodstuffs produced in the agricultural districts.

It has been computed that to every ten versts on the Russian railway system there should be working an average of three locomotives; there is now only to be found an average of one.



Members of the delegation discussed the transport dislocation at length with Sverdloff, the acting Commissar of Ways and Communication. He accompanied a section of the delegation on their voyage from Moscow to Nijni-Novgorod and thence down to Samara, Saratov and Astrakhan, and much enlightenment was given in regard to the steady but slow improvement in the condition of railway and water transport.

Added to the prevention of imports, indicated in the foregoing, reference must be made to the blockade policy and its effect upon the cut-off supplies of fats for the production of soap, medicines, and drugs of every description which has increased the difficulties of the Soviet authorities tenfold in fighting the ravages of cholera, typhus, and other infectious diseases—the legacy thrown upon the Soviet authorities by the collapse of the Czar's bureaucracy.

*The Soviet System*

By CHAS. RODEN BUXTON and L. HADEN GUEST

The Council (Soviet) System of Russia differs from the method of local government and central government in this country in certain essential particulars. The basis of representation in the towns is occupational, not geographical, and employers, *rentiers*, monks, and priests of all religious denominations, as well as mentally afflicted and criminal persons, have neither the right to vote nor to be elected. Article 23 of the Russia Soviet Constitution states:—

“In the general interest of the working-class, the Russian Soviet Republic deprives individuals and sections of the community of any privileges which may be used to the detriment of the Socialist Revolution.”

It is freely stated by political opponents of the Communists that this power is made use of to disfranchise those who are considered “politically unreliable.”

In the country the peasants vote according to their residence—*i.e.*, village by village. There is a Congress of Councils (Soviets) for the Volost, which Congress elects the Executive Committee (*Iespolkom*, as it is called for short) for the Volost. By a similar procedure the Volosts are grouped into Uyezds, and the Uyezds into Gubernias or Provinces. Russia and Siberia are divided into 52 Provinces (Gubernias). Some of the Gubernias are joined together for purposes of economic organisation into Oblasts.

The Village Councils are concerned with local village affairs. They are elected by open voting at general village meetings in which both men and women take part. At the earlier stages of the Revolution elections were held every three months; the tendency is now to extend this period to six or nine months. There are very few members of the Communist Party amongst the peasants, and the Village Councils are largely “non-party” in character. In “military areas” it seems that the chief offices of the Council are sometimes filled by nominees of the higher Soviet authorities.<sup>1</sup> The Uyezd Soviets have a different character, they meet in the Uyezd town—a kind of sub-capital or *sous-préfecture* of a district within the Government—and they have upon them a number of representatives of the town elected on the occupational franchise basis, plus representatives sent from the Volosts.

The All-Russia Congress of Soviets is composed of representatives from town-Soviets in the proportion of one delegate for every 25,000 *electors*, and representatives from the Congress of Uyezd Soviets in the proportion of one delegate for every 125,000 *inhabitants*. It is stated that in practice the difference in qualification for the vote (as between occupational and geographical) reduces the difference to 1 to 3. The peasants, however, sometimes allege that their representatives from the villages are hindered from attending the Uyezd and the Gubernia Councils by the refusal of permits to travel. Gubernia Soviets attended by the delegation certainly had very few peasant representatives, apparently quite out of proportion to the number of peasant and town workers concerned, and had a majority of Communists, whereas Communists are very rare in the villages.

Elections in the towns are held in the factories, industrial, municipal and railway enterprises, and in the Trade Unions and Red Army units at general meetings, and at special electoral meetings called by the Central or Local Electoral Commission. These Commissions are the bodies which control the procedure of the elections, and are themselves appointed by the Town Soviets.<sup>2</sup>

(1) See Appendix XIX.—Buxton's Report on the Village of Ozero. Page 130.

(2) See Appendix III.—Rules for the Election of the Moscow Soviet. Page 58.

Each meeting called for electoral purposes is presided over by a chairman, and has a secretary to record results. The voting is open.

The detailed methods of election differ in different places, but voting is apparently always open.

The Soviet system results in a more or less direct representation of the urban proletariat and a more or less indirect representation of the peasants. Agricultural workers have, apart from this, been backward in organisation, and have only this year held their first Trade Union Congress. In practice the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, elected indirectly from the whole of the Gubernias and towns of Russia, is found to be an unwieldy body. It meets to listen to set speeches and to pass resolutions previously debated and decided by the Communist Party. Its most important function is to elect the Central Executive Committee of 300 members, 285 or 290 of whom are Communists and the rest Mensheviks. The Central Executive Committee in its turn elects the Cabinet of the country—the People's Commissars. The Central Executive Committee only meets rarely: the People's Commissars are theoretically responsible to it, and it, in its turn, is theoretically responsible to the All-Russia Congress of Soviets.



*Report on the Village of Ozero*

By CHARLES RODEN BUXTON

My visit to this district (some 60 miles from Samara) lasted one week. I stayed all this time in peasants' houses, visiting about seven different villages. My visits were all unexpected, and my freedom of movement was not in any way restricted. I tried to select villages which had no special peculiarities; and, as far as I can judge, those I visited were typical ones, except that they were in a "military area," the district having been the scene of fighting up to a few months ago.

Most of the time I spent in the house of one of the "middle" peasantry at Ozero, and what follows relates to that village. I received a stream of visits from all sorts of people. I also visited the houses of other peasants, the Soviet, the school, the church, the meeting-house of the Molokani, etc. Most of those with whom I talked were not members of the Communist Party.

I was accompanied by a young Russian, an employee in the telegraph service (also not a Communist), who helped me with travelling arrangements, and supplemented my defects with regard to the language.

*LAND SYSTEM*

The population of Ozero is about 2,500 (most villages here are larger). The great majority are considered "middle" peasants; about one-fifth would be called "poor" peasants. Many of the latter live in houses built of clay, while the ordinary house is of wood throughout. Of "rich" peasants there are only four or five.

My host had three strips of land—one of wheat, one of rye, and one of millet—widely distant from one another; in all 35 desiatines (79 acres). The normal allowance of land now is five desiatines per "soul," and he has a wife and five children. (Before the Revolution he had only three desiatines.) His stock consisted of five horses, three cows, six sheep, and a few pigs, geese and chickens. He had also two dogs.

Before the Revolution there were numerous large estates in the neighbourhood—some belonging to private landlords (several of whom were absentees), one belonging to the Tsaritsa Maria Feodorovna, and some were Crown Land. The circumstances under which these estates were taken over by the peasants differed widely. Two examples may be given:—

(a) That of a Cossack landlord, Ch., owning some 2,000 desiatines (4,500 acres). Some soldiers returning from the Front in 1917 (*i.e.*, before the October Revolution) demanded his land and seed to sow it. He refused. They then took both land and seed themselves. He fled to P. (the chief town of the Uyezd or district) and got some soldiers sent from there to Ozero. They arrested a "poor" peasant; but they were disarmed by the villagers and their prisoner freed. Other soldiers, sent as reinforcements, joined the villagers. It was the intention of the villagers to leave the landlord some land and some seed, but finding that neither he nor his manager returned, they divided all his land and goods. His house remained empty for some time, but was finally broken up for building materials.

(b) That of a landlord, U., owning some 200 desiatines (450 acres) and having about twenty camels, twenty horses, twenty cows, and fifty sheep. At the October Revolution he had to give up most of his property. He has now only fifteen desiatines and only four camels, and a proportionately smaller number of other stock. His farmyard (*dvor*) is much too large for his needs. He continues to live in his house (the nicest in the village, and occupying the most prominent

position), but he has had to give up his two best rooms, one to be the Communist Club, and the other to be the office of the Military Commissar (see below). I had several long talks with him.

The peasants say they have gained greatly by the Revolution in the matter of the land, and "in this sense" are in favour of the Revolution. Obviously it has made an immense difference in their position.

The division of the land, after the Revolution of October, 1917, was effected as follows:—

The Soviet of the Uyezd (P.) allotted a certain quantity of land to the village of Ozero as a whole. The Soviet of Ozero which was specially elected for the purpose—all the villagers having the right to vote—then distributed the land among individuals, on the basis of so much land per "soul."

The more thoughtful among the villagers consider the present distribution as provisional. "This is certainly not the final arrangement," said my host.

The land is now regarded by the peasants as their individual property for all practical purposes. It passes in practice to the son on the death of the father, whatever the law may be.

Formerly a certain amount of the land of the village used to be cultivated by the village as a whole, and not divided into individual holdings. The Government has lately recommended the revival of this system, under the name of "Soviet strips" (*polosa*). It was, however, found inconvenient, and was abandoned before the Revolution. Instead, grain was collected from each individual, stored in a barn—the same which has lately been used for the Government contribution—and kept for the expenses of the village, including poor relief, and as a reserve against famine.

### FOOD COLLECTION BY THE STATE

In Ozero this year, contributions of produce and services for the needs of the State have been made as follows:—

(a) Compulsory contribution of grain for the civil population—36,000 poods;

(b) Compulsory contribution of sheep and hay for the Army;

(c) Voluntary contributions for various purposes—*e.g.*, for the town of Moscow, in response to an appeal by a Commissar, who came and addressed a meeting in the village. Such contributions are willingly made.

(d) A mobilisation of horses and carts and labour to transport the produce. This is said to be the chief reason why less land has been ploughed and sown than before.

The amount of the compulsory contribution from each village is fixed by the "Regional Supply Committee" (*Raionni Prodovolstvenni Komitet*) at P., the chief town of the Uyezd. (I presume it has to raise a certain total prescribed by some higher authority.) The produce is collected by the Village Soviet. It has to be conveyed to P. (about 15 miles), and sometimes as far as Samara (60 miles). The total demand for grain was 50,000 poods—the amount actually contributed being somewhat less. A new demand was recently made, for the whole remaining stock of grain, leaving three poods per head until next harvest.

Payment is made at fixed prices—wheat, 44-49 roubles per pood; rye, 34 roubles per pood; hay, 12 roubles per pood. Horses are purchased direct by the military, and paid for at market prices; I myself saw prices ranging from 80,000 to 180,000 roubles being paid.

There is bitter resentment at the amount and variety of the demands, the awkward times at which they are made, and the low prices paid. "Commissars—powerful persons—are continually coming here," said one peasant to me, "we don't know what to do with them." "New orders (*prikazi*) are continually arriving."

The peasants could get far more for their produce, they say, if they could sell in the open market. This is a very sore point. They say, however, that they escape the taxes which they formerly paid.

Villages which make their contributions completely and regularly are rewarded by preferential treatment in the matter of manufactured goods (see below under "Shops and Distribution").

The Samara Government is one of the "bread-governments," *i.e.*, is expected to send away a large surplus, and this no doubt accounts for the exceptional demands made on it.

Great excitement prevailed in the village over the question of 37 sheep which had been sent in in excess of the number demanded. The authorities were demanding more sheep, without giving credit to the village for the excess. The villagers contended that a receipt had been given for the 37 sheep, but when asked to produce it, they failed to find it. (The receipt for the grain, I may add, had also been lost.) I attended an animated meeting of the Village Soviet on this subject, at which a Commissar from P. was present, and the point was argued at great length. The general public were admitted, and, by special permission of the meeting, allowed to speak.

At Ozero there has not been any violent conflict with the military over the food contributions; but I heard of one village in the neighbourhood where a disturbance had occurred, and many peasants had lost their lives.

### AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

There was a sharp fall in the amount of land ploughed and sown last autumn and spring—*i.e.*, for the harvest of 1920. The land of the village consists of 9,000 desiatines (22,500 acres).

According to the "three-field system," 3,000 desiatines are usually ploughed and sown each year, the rest lying fallow. Last autumn and spring, however, only about 900 desiatines were ploughed and sown. My host's neighbour sowed only five desiatines instead of fourteen. This is generally ascribed in the village to the mobilisation of horses and carts for transporting supplies. I could not find out whether any other causes had operated, such as general political uncertainty.

### ATTITUDE TOWARDS GOVERNMENT

The majority of peasants in Ozero, as far as I could judge from many conversations, consider that they owe much to the Soviet Government in the matter of the land; they approve of the "principle of everybody being equal"; they often talk of the "true" Communist as being an ideal sort of person. But they complain bitterly of three things: first, and most important of all, the high cost of living and the absence of many necessities (see below); secondly, the compulsory contributions (see above); and thirdly, the worry of perpetual orders and appeals, often hard to understand.

They consider that the Government is responsible for all these evils alike, and that the peasant is somehow in a position of inferiority to the townsman.

Membership of the Communist Party is very rare. In Ozero, there are seven members. All the Soviet members, except the President (who is a Communist), are "non-party" (*bezzpartini*). The Communists are a little group of active propagandists—in many respects the most progressive people in the village—who freely admit the difficulty of their task. The proportion of Communist members in the other villages I visited was much the same.

I found in the village of K. an interesting contrast to Ozero. In K., the feeling is violently anti-Communist. Some of the leading villagers came to see me, and said quite openly: "We are living under a Government of brutes (*zoyerini*). It is like Catherine the Great's time. We are slaves." These were expressions



which I never heard in Ozero, or in any of the other villages I visited. It is worth noting that in K., the priest was an able man of the most unbending and dogmatic type. I stayed in the house where he lodged, and noted the atmosphere of solemnity and reverence which surrounded him. It was evident from several other signs that the clerical influence was strong here.

Incidentally, my experience at this village shows that the peasants were not afraid to express opinions hostile to the Government.

### *SHOPS, DISTRIBUTION OF GOODS AND CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT*

In Ozero there was formerly a Co-operative Store, called the "Self-help Consumers' Society." The name is still retained, but the shop is, in fact, the State shop for all goods which the village has to buy. It is supplied from the central shop of the "region" at P., which in its turn is supplied by the central "Supply Committee" for the Samara "Government."

By a decree of March, 1919, so I was told, everyone has access to the store on equal terms, and shares are no longer taken up.

Supplies are very scanty indeed. When I was at V., another village, a new lot had just come in, and there was an excited crowd outside the shop. I saw people coming out with cups, teapots, boots, shoes, whetstones for grinding, gloves for rough winter work, etc.

### *LOCAL GOVERNMENT*

The chief organs of local government in Ozero are (a) the Soviet, (b) the Military Commissar. There is also the Militia (practically police), but this consists of one man only, who enjoys the title of "chief milizioner."

(a) Strictly speaking, the Soviet of Ozero is a Volost Soviet (another small village being combined with Ozero). It sends representatives to the Congress of Volost Soviets for the "Region" at P——; this region includes five Volosts. The Uyezd of P—— contains several such "Regions."

The present Soviet of Ozero, consisting of twenty-two members, was elected at a general meeting of the villagers nine months ago. The election appears to have been a free one. According to the Constitution, there should be an election every three months, but it is the general opinion in the village that this period is too short. (In another village, V——, they began by holding elections every three months, but now hold them every six months.)

Some time ago, the President of the Soviet was arrested for showing insufficient energy in the collection of food for the authorities. He was shortly afterwards released, but another President was nominated by the Military Commissar for the "Region." This President is a Communist, and is the same man who was President of the "Committee of Poverty" (see below). All the other members are "non-party."

The discussion I heard at a meeting of the Soviet was highly practical and business-like.

It is the business of the Soviet to carry out the orders of the various Commissariats, and of the departments of the "Government" administration at Samara. It disburses all payments received from the higher authorities, such as those for the schoolmaster, for Red Army men's families, etc. I could not exactly ascertain its functions as to the distribution of the land, apart from the redistribution which took place after the October Revolution in 1917 (see above). It is apparently intended that there shall be a periodical redistribution.

Generally, the assumption which we habitually make in England, that each authority must have a distinct sphere of competence, not overlapping with that of any other, does not seem to hold good in Russia. This is an important point when we come to consider.

(b) The Military Commissar, who is a native of Ozero. He has an office of his own in the house of a former landlord (see above). I had several conversations with him, and I should say he was a man of tact and judgement. He was appointed by the military authorities, and controls all military affairs, mobilisation, desertion, support of soldiers' families, accounts, purchase of horses, etc. But his functions are much wider. He has also the "political oversight" of all the Volost of which Ozero forms part. He organises the Communist Party locally, and also the plays and entertainments which form part of their propaganda. (I was much struck by the ingenuity of the amateur theatres in several villages.) In addition, he is Chairman of the Commission for fighting epidemics. Lastly, he has a voice in the distribution of the land. The Soviet does it in the first instance, but he is supposed to know the Constitution and the decrees concerning it; if the Soviet, in his opinion, does not act in accordance with these, he can suggest alterations, and if they are rejected, can refer the matter to the Soviet of the Uyezd. Evidently his powers are extremely wide. It is fair to remember that the Samara district was the scene of much fighting in 1918 and 1919, and is still, to a certain extent, under special military control.

### *THE "COMMITTEE OF POVERTY"*

This body existed in Ozero during 1918. A decree was issued, I was told, to the effect that the Soviet should be formed of "poor" peasants, who should, in addition to the ordinary functions of the Soviet, collect certain special requisitions which were made at that time. The object was that the Soviet might not be dominated by the "rich" peasants. The procedure was as follows:—A meeting of all the village was called, at which the chairman read out a list of candidates for the "Committee of Poverty." Each name, as it was read, was discussed, and several candidates were rejected as not being "poor." The voting was by show of hands. About 40 were elected, with a "præsidium" of three, the President being the same man who is now the (nominated) President of the Soviet. The Committee "did not understand its duties," and after a few months (November, 1918, I understand) was dissolved, the ordinary Soviet taking its place.

### *EDUCATION*

There are two schools in Ozero; one is a regular school building (for some time past requisitioned as a hospital), the other is the house of one of the teachers. The schools are only open in the winter (October to March). According to the programme, there should be five teachers, but there are only two. Education is not yet compulsory for all, but it is intended that it shall be. About the same number of children attend as before the Revolution (there were 165 last winter), but there would be far more if there were a sufficiency of teachers, books and equipment, and if the children had adequate clothes and boots. The old Zemstvo schools and Church schools are abolished, and only "Labour schools" exist now. The priest, however, gives religious instruction to a certain number in his own house. The Government programme is admirable, but hitherto has not been practically realised. The teacher with whom I talked receives 1,800 roubles a month. No beginning has yet been made with adult education in Ozero.

In the clerical village above referred to, I was told that very few children go to the schools, because "they are godless, and teach only dances and songs, not the laws of God." The priest in this village goes himself to the schools and gives religious instruction on certain days.

## RELIGION

I heard much condemnation of the anti-religious propaganda carried on by the Communist Party. It was often said that if the Communists want the peasants to co-operate with them, they should not place this obstacle in the way. "It is like holding a horse back and beating him at the same time," said one informant. What is being done now, said a Baptist to me (several sects are represented in Ozero), is exactly on all fours with the oppression of the sects by the Orthodox Church. The peasants, he said, are certainly very ignorant, but to expect them to leave the Church "is like taking away a child from the breast." They are afraid of the new agricultural communes because they think they are "atheistic."

The priest at Ozero is a simple peasant who works for his living. He encourages people to read the Bible. The priest at K. (see above) is of a very different type, and apparently a formidable opponent of the new regime.

## SANITATION, FOOD, ETC.

Though insects abound in the peasants' houses, to the discomfort of the traveller, this does not mean that the peasants do not try to keep clean. Almost every house has a small mud building behind it, which contains the bath. A fire is made under a large cauldron of water; there is also a tub of cold water, and a high seat on which the bather can enjoy the steam produced by throwing water on the fire, at the same time beating himself with twigs to increase the heat. They now frequently use milk instead of soap. It is the custom to take a bath once a week, and oftener if dirty work is being done.

There is a Commission for fighting epidemics, which consists of the Military Commissar, the local doctor, and two or three representatives of the Soviet. It puts up various warning notices, and sees to the notification of disease, establishment of hospitals, etc.

The doctor was sent to Ozero on account of the typhus epidemic, which, however, is now over.

My general impression was that the population of Ozero was tolerably healthy. It certainly presented a very marked contrast to that of the towns. On the other hand, the absence of clothes, boots and soap must have disastrous effects; probably in normal times the people would look far more healthy. The peasants say that much disease is caused by the absence of salt.

Eggs and milk are plentiful. Sour milk (the Turkish *yaourt*), kasha or porridge made of millet-seed, cabbage soup, and coarse fish from the lake, are also common foods. I often had meat, but this was a special luxury reserved for the guest.

## NEEDS OF THE POPULATION

The want of various manufactured goods is by far the greatest grievance of the people of Ozero. Almost every one of the scores of conversations I had, began with this all-engrossing subject. The articles most frequently mentioned were ploughs, scythes, wheels, tyres, nails; kerosene, paraffin, soap, grease, glass, cloth, boots, and paper. Medical necessities were also often mentioned. The doctor at Ozero, I was told, "has nothing except his thermometer." There is a special grievance about salt, because the peasants say it could be obtained in Russia at no great distance (near Uralsk), and they ought to be allowed to go and get it.

## EFFECTS OF THE WAR, ETC.

The effects of the war were noticeable in Ozero on every hand. They were impressed on me not only by the lack of manufactured goods, but by the number of people whose sons were serving at the front, or were prisoners of



war in Germany; by the perpetual demand for Army supplies and for their transport; by the large organisation in the neighbourhood for collecting these supplies; by the special portion of land which had to be cultivated to maintain soldiers' families; by the six or seven miles of wire entanglements and trenches on the neighbouring steppe, the result of Koltchak's advance in 1919; and by many other indications.

### *SOVIET FARMS, COMMUNES, ARTELS*

There were none of these in any of the villages I visited, but I heard many details about them. All receive direct aid from the Agricultural Department of the Government. A Soviet Farm is one run directly by the authorities. A Commune is a very close association of a few families, with a common house, all their property being merged in the common stock. The peasants are very shy of these Communes. They raise the familiar objections to co-partnership in farming; they also think that membership in a Commune means membership in the Communist party, and that they are in some way atheistic institutions.

An Artel is a compromise. It consists of a considerable number of members who have their own houses, stock and implements, and work partly for themselves, but who live together in a colony, and have shares in the Artel. The Artel thus acquires capital, and gradually extends its operations as a co-operative enterprise worked by all the members jointly.

*Report on the Housing Conditions of Moscow*

By CHARLES RODEN BUXTON

I was particularly anxious to ascertain the facts regarding one of the most striking aspects of the Revolution—the transference of the poor to the houses formerly occupied by the rich.

*EXAMPLES*

I will begin by giving an example which came under my personal observation.

My friend T. was an artist, living in a large and comfortable flat<sup>1</sup> with her mother and sister. They belonged to a rich family having oil wells in Baku. In December, 1917, they received a paper from the Moscow Soviet, giving them notice to quit in three days. Carts were provided for moving furniture; they were among the first to move from the house, and got the advantage of the carts; there were not carts enough for those who moved later.

After various moves they settled down in a flat of about the same size, but, finding that several families were being crowded into flats together, they arranged to share this flat with two married sisters and their families—one having two children and the other one. Thus ten persons are housed in about the space formerly occupied by three.

T. could not make a living by painting and now lives by making ladies' hats for private customers. One room is her workshop. The flat is uncomfortably crowded.

I asked her if she could show me the people who now occupied the kind of flat she previously lived in. She at once took me to the flat previously occupied by one of her married sisters. The president of the "House Committee" for that particular house took us to see the present occupants. The flat was occupied by two families. The first was that of a milliner, living with her old mother, a young child, and a baby in the cradle. She occupied two large rooms and the bathroom. There was a rather fusty smell, but the rooms were clean and the furniture well kept. She said she was far better off than before. She had never dreamt of such grand rooms. She went on to say that she now had better food also than before. It made a great difference that you now got maintained before and after childbirth, and that the children received their food gratis up to the age of 16.

The other two rooms and the kitchen, etc., were occupied by a factory worker, a widow with a small family. The whole house had originally been allotted to a particular factory (since closed) for the housing of its workers. She had a Communist poster on the wall. She said she was comfortable, but otherwise expressed no special enthusiasm.

I visited a number of other flats with the President of the Housing and Land Department (Silishchni-Zemielni Otdiel of the Moscow Soviet). We went first to a great block, each flat consisting of two or three rooms with a bathroom and lavatory. It was formerly occupied by wealthy people who came to Moscow occasionally, and had their meals out, so that dining-rooms were not needed. There had been a fine restaurant on the roof, which commands a magnificent view, which will in future be used as a playground for children, and for popular lectures. There was a stately entrance hall and three lifts, only one now working. All the present occupants are members of the Communist Party. The house is called a "commune"—i.e., the occupants are supposed to be people of more or less similar views, who co-operate in obtaining fuel and for other purposes. The words "commune" and "collection" have come into very general use for any sort of group of people who co-operate in any way.

(1) Most dwelling-houses in Moscow are huge blocks of flats.

The flats we visited were occupied by (1) a soldier, an N.C.O. in the old Army, now studying at the Military School; (2) an actress, who had occupied the same flat before the Revolution; (3) an artist, who was now the manager of the house.

We then went to a very beautiful nine-room flat, formerly occupied by the widow of a man who had inherited 50 million roubles. She had lived there alone. While her husband lived, they had had three other flats in the same house—*i.e.*, 36 rooms in all. Under the new conditions, the widow had been allowed to live on in the flat, in one room, however, instead of nine. She talked freely to me, and was very bitter about the damage done to good houses generally. There were four other households in the flat, as follows:—(1) a tramway conductor with his wife and little boy—two rooms; (2) a workman with wife and child—two rooms; (3) a peasant from Smolensk (now studying at the Military School) with wife and child—occupying the dining-room, with a long dining-room table down the middle, a grand piano, and two fine modern pictures—the bed in the corner next the piano; (4) an ex-lawyer (now an official) with wife and child—two rooms. The last, like the actress above-mentioned, and the rich widow, was an example of a bourgeois who had remained in tolerably comfortable conditions—his rooms being the best in the flat.

This house was also a “commune” but did not consist of members of the Communist Party. I noticed that the furniture and pictures had been scrupulously cared for.

I saw smiling faces almost everywhere. I could not doubt, in spite of the many complaints about the cost of living, that this migration from worse to better houses had made an immense difference in the lives of the occupants.

### *THE GENERAL SITUATION*

The housing problem of Moscow became extremely serious when the capital was transferred there from Petrograd, the number of officials in a centralised Socialist State being necessarily enormous. The great military operations have also involved the housing of soldiers on a huge scale in Moscow. The pulling down of many wooden houses for fuel also contributed to the shortage.

The temporary quartering of soldiers has been one of the causes of the injury done to houses, especially during 1918. The soldiers had no interest in keeping them properly. The other chief cause was the novelty of the new system. The people were suddenly moved into well-kept houses, full of superfluities and conveniences to which they had never been accustomed, but it is generally agreed that they are coming to appreciate this higher standard of housing more and more, and to take greater care of the houses and the furniture. Private houses are now much better in this respect than Government offices.

It must be remembered that house repairs were neglected during the whole of the war; that essential materials—pipes for gas and water, oils for paints, lead, fire-places, earthenware for stoves and lavatories, glass, etc., are unobtainable; and that the urgent needs of other departments of the national life have caused the repair of houses to be neglected.

During the first year many of the new occupants felt shy and uncomfortable in the spacious rooms with their gilt and mirrors, and wanted to leave. Now the reverse is generally the case, and there is a great demand for the finest rooms.

In addition to the Housing and Land Department of the Moscow Soviet, there are Housing and Land Departments of each “regional” Soviet in Moscow. Each “region” is again divided into smaller districts for which “House Management Committees” (Koartalniye Hozaistva), are nominated by the “regional” Soviet. There are also “Observation Committees” with advisory functions for



each of these smaller districts consisting of persons "recommended" by the inhabitants and "confirmed" by the regional Soviet, as well as direct nominees of the regional Soviet. There must be one representative for each "house." (The Official Report on Municipalisation of Dwellings, 1920, pp. 70, etc., states that the system must be regarded as transitional and experimental). The central and local bodies alike have managers under them, who attend to the number of rooms per family, to repairs, and to heating and cleaning arrangements, etc.

In addition to the above, each separate house generally has its "House Committee" (Domovoi Komitet). This is an unofficial body, whose chief functions are to exchange the cards for food, and to make such arrangements as are most conveniently made for the house as a whole.

The Housing and Land Department is concerned, not only with dwelling-houses, but with providing suitable buildings for Government offices, schools, hospitals, hotels for guests and all other public institutions; with the whole question of the supply of furniture; with the lighting and cleaning of streets; and with markets.

On the whole, the President of the Department told me, preference is given in the allocation of houses to the workman as such. It makes no difference whether he is a Trade Unionist or whether he is a Communist.

Many houses are specially allocated for the use of particular factories.

With regard to furniture, this was as a general rule left in the house where it was found; but specially artistic objects were collected for museums and clubs. In the early days there was a good deal of pillaging; but it is now very rare.

About 5,000 houses have been demolished since the Revolution. They were mostly wooden shanties of a miserable character, the wood was used for fuel, and the iron and bricks were collected for the repairing of other houses. A large amount of this work was done on the special "subbotnik" (voluntary Saturday labour) organised on the First of May, 1920.

Rent is paid to the Housing and Land Department. About 60,000,000 roubles a year is drawn from this source for the whole of Moscow, while the expenditure, including capital expenditure, is estimated at 360,000,000 roubles. (Report: p. 119). The state institutions pay nothing. Ordinary tenants pay from 100 to 400 roubles per month for two or three rooms. These sums seem to bear no relation whatever to an "economic rent." The Report above mentioned contends that the municipality ought to charge a sufficient sum to pay for upkeep, but nothing for interest on capital expenditure.

I asked the President, who was a working man, how his present rent compared with his former rent. He said he formerly paid 10 roubles a month for two rooms, together measuring about 15 feet square; his wages were 40 roubles a month. He now pays 200 roubles for much better quarters, while his wages are 2,500 roubles. He thus pays 8 % of his wages instead of 25 %.

I asked his opinion, finally, as to the prospects for next winter. He said that, on the whole, he thought conditions would be somewhat better, not because the supplies of necessities would be larger, but because the organisation had greatly improved.

Great efforts had been made to secure that tenants should be grouped in a less promiscuous manner, and that people of similar tastes and ideas should get together. Co-operation among tenants would thus be greatly increased. In the matter of fuel, stores had been and were being collected for each house in a systematic manner; the wives who were not otherwise working, were concerning themselves specially with this work.

At the same time, the shortage of house-room was terrible, owing to the difficulty as to repairs. There were only about 30,000 houses in a completely fit condition. This might mean, of course, a very large number of flats. But there were many more which were for one reason or other inadequate.

### ADDENDUM

On the important question of working-class housing *before* the Revolution, I cannot speak at first hand, but I may quote the opinion of a Russian engineer of German origin, very independent in his opinions, formerly on the side of the big capitalists, and once sentenced to "five years' hard" for counter-revolution. He said:—

"Undoubtedly, life before was worse for the workers than now. Dwellings! You could not use the word. Two rooms? The corner of one room! Employers were brutally indifferent. True, they were better latterly; but the 'barracks' they built were bad. Families preferred a small room to a large, because other families would not be crowded with them into the same room."

I may add the following quotations from H. W. Nevins's *The Dawn in Russia* (1906), p. 45. They refer to Petrograd:—

"I have not seen a family occupying more than one room. If they rent two or three, they sublet. The larger rooms are usually divided between two or more families. In some cases each of the four corners is occupied by a different family, separated by shawls or strings. . . . In the work-people's rooms, there was hardly any furniture beyond the bed, the table, some stools, and a chest for clothes."

## *Organisation for the Protection of Public Health in Soviet Russia*

COMMUNICATED BY COMMISSARIAT OF HEALTH IN RUSSIA AND EDITED BY  
L. HADEN GUEST

The clue to the organisation of the Soviet Medical Service lies, as Dr. N. A. Semashko says in his pamphlet (*Moscow*, 1919), "in the fact that Medicine is under the government of the Councils of Workers' Deputies, from top to bottom"—*i.e.*, the organisation is constructed on a basis of Departments or Committees, consisting of the representatives of workers' organisations—of Soviets and Central Professional Unions.

The administration of medical, and sanitary affairs is centrally controlled by the People's Commissariat of Health, and locally by Governmental, District, and Urban Departments of Health corresponding to Councils of Workers' Deputies.

For attending to the needs of Public Health the Soviet Government has two separate services which, though working together in proximate contact, are distinct because of the special character and machinery of their activities. These two services are (1) medical and (2) sanitary. To these two permanent branches must be added an anti-epidemical service.

### I.—THE ORGANISATION OF MEDICAL SERVICE

#### IN TOWNS

The governing principle of medical attendance upon the population of the Republic is that general and qualified (special) medical aid is accessible to everyone free of charge.

Institutions for giving medical attendance are:—

- 1 General Out-Patient departments attending upon different regions with a population of 2,000–3,000 persons.
- 2 Special Out-Patient departments: for eye diseases, skin diseases, venereal diseases, etc.
- 3 Institutions for First Aid.
- 4 Medical officers on night duty.
- 5 Medical attendance upon home patients.
- 6 Stationary medical attendance:—

(a) General Hospitals for cases from definite areas.

(b) Special Hospitals: obstetric and gynaecological, ophthalmic, venereal (skin diseases), surgical, tubercular, children's infections, physico-mechano-orthopædic institutes, etc.

Special Hospitals are concentrated chiefly in larger towns, and attend, not upon separate quarters of a town, but upon the whole population in general, and also upon the population of neighbouring villages in cases where special treatment is required and cannot be administered locally.

In Moscow and in Petrograd the organisation of medical service, with regard to the number of beds in hospitals, as well as to the number of special hospitals and medical specialists, is more efficient than elsewhere. In these towns, as in all other university towns, medical service is reinforced by University Clinics.

Besides this, in Moscow there are a number of institutions of a practical scientific character for the purpose of improving the training of doctors:—*e.g.*, Tuberculosis Dispensaries, and Sanatoriums, Physico-mechano-therapeutic Institutes, Institutes of Physical Culture, Maternity Homes, etc.



There are at present in the Republic 10,000 hospitals, with about 270,000 beds, 17,000 doctors, 35,000 medical assistants, and 120,000 junior medical staff.

The farm of thyroidectomised she-goats is worthy of mention as an institution of therapeutic and therapeutico-experimental importance. There are 60 she-goats at the farm, 50 per cent. of which have been operated upon (excision of the thyroid gland). Their milk is supplied to the Clinics, Tubercular Sanatoriums, and individual patients, for the treatment of Basedow's disease and tuberculosis.

#### IN THE COUNTRY

In the country, areas are divided into medical regions, the medical service in each region supplied being:—ambulance service (out-patients), stationary attendance (in-patients), and attendance at patients' homes.

Before the Revolution the radius of one such medical region was about 10 to 20 versts. The Soviet Government aims at reducing the radius to 5 versts. In some parts of the country—for instance, in the Poltava Government—5-verst regions are already attained.

#### HEALTH RESORTS

The treatment at Health Resorts (mineral waters, mineral mud, sea-bathing, climatic stations, Koumiss—*i.e.*, liquor made from mares'-milk—infirmaries) is also on a basis of accessibility to all free of charge. Health Resorts are divided into those which are of general State importance, and those of local importance. To the first belong Cure Resorts, which, owing to their specific curative properties, cannot be limited to a definite medical region; the distribution of patients at these Resorts is left to the central authorities, whereas Health Resorts of local importance are entirely at the disposal of local organisations.

The unfavourable circumstances of the last two years have made it impossible to develop the treatment at Health Resorts to the extent scheduled by the Government. Nevertheless, in 1919, about 5,000 patients were treated at different Health Resorts.

The distribution of patients according to their social position is as follows (at Lipetz Health Resort, Tambov Government):—

|                              |    |    |    |       |
|------------------------------|----|----|----|-------|
| Workers and Soviet Officials | .. | .. | .. | 70 %  |
| Red Army men and Invalids    | .. | .. | .. | 25 %  |
| Other Citizens               | .. | .. | .. | 5 %   |
|                              |    |    |    | <hr/> |
|                              |    |    |    | 100 % |

At the Health Resorts, not only the treatment, but also board and residence are free.

#### SANATORIUMS

The word "Sanatorium" in Russia pertains exclusively to Sanatoriums for the tuberculous; whereas Sanatoriums for the convalescent exhausted by chronic (non-infectious) diseases are called "Sdravnitzi."

### II.—SANITARY MEASURES

The sanitary affairs of the Republic are managed by the Institute of Sanitary Inspectors and by a special Sanitary Housing Inspection Service. According to the scheme of 1920 there is supposed to be one sanitary inspector for each suburban district, and one for every 50,000 inhabitants in towns, the whole number being 700 doctors and 1,400 assistants.

The representation of the people on the Medical Boards, which has been introduced by the Soviet regime is specially concerned with the control and execution of sanitary measures. In this connection, besides local Sanitary Councils—district suburban, and governmental—of which half the members are representatives of the inhabitants, it is worth mentioning the Workers' Committees to fight for cleanliness. They are organised in every town and even in big villages, and are composed of the representatives of Workers, peasants, and Army organisations; in large towns they have their own agents at factories and mills (sanitary inspectors). The work and duties of these committees are indicated in the special instructions. Their purpose is to effect all the necessary measures for maintaining the cleanliness of the specific group of the population allotted to them, and of the houses where they dwell.

#### ANTI-EPIDEMIC MEASURES

A permanent anti-epidemic organisation, with a properly organised disinfection service, infection hospitals and wards, isolation shelters, etc., exists only in Moscow and Petrograd and in towns which are the capitals of Provinces. In other towns and in the country temporary organisations have to be set up while the epidemic rages, so that an important branch of the work of the central body is to organise anti-epidemic detachments to be sent to different places at short notice.

The Soviet Government proclaimed a "Week of Cleanliness" as a practical undertaking, during which the population were called upon to cleanse streets, yards, public buildings and their own flats. In June a "Water-supply Week" will be arranged, during which all the sources of water supply will be examined, and the necessary improvements made. For the purpose of individual cleanliness, in May a "Bath week" was proclaimed, during which the use of baths was gratuitous and everybody was given soap.

The supply of vaccines and serums is guaranteed by the State Institutions, of which the principal ones are at Moscow and Petrograd; there are, however, Bacteriological Institutes of a similar kind in other university towns. In most governmental towns and also in some smaller towns there are institutions for the preparation of smallpox vaccine. In order to ensure a proper supply to every different part of the Republic, the distribution of vaccines and serums is regulated from the centre. The control of bacteriological preparations is carried out by a special Institute for the Control of Vaccines and Serums.

The investigators of serums have considerable difficulties to contend with, owing to the absence of a sufficient reserve of standard serums and standard toxins. Up to the present, the following quantities of vaccines and serums have been controlled:—

|                   |    |    |    |    |              |
|-------------------|----|----|----|----|--------------|
| Vaccines          | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1,125 series |
| Smallpox Vaccines | .. | .. | .. | .. | 215 series   |
| Serums            | .. | .. | .. | .. | 255 series   |

### III.—HOUSING CONDITIONS

#### IN TOWNS

With the abolition of private property in real estate, the Soviet Housing Policy is directed to securing uniform and equal distribution of flats among the population and giving to all inhabitants the necessary hygienic minimum of space and light. There are very great obstacles in the way of good housing which can only be overcome by means of a largely developed building scheme, affecting not only the quantity but more especially the quality of the accommodation. The enormous block dwellings in our large towns, built for speculative purposes in most cases, are altogether unsuitable for healthy

housing. It must be admitted that the sanitary conditions of houses are exceedingly unsatisfactory, and, therefore, the Commissariat of Health puts their improvement in the first place in considering the measures to be undertaken to improve general sanitary conditions. Steps are now being taken to arrange for the sanitary inspection of houses everywhere. In Moscow courses are held continuously for the training of sanitary inspectors for housing work.

In order to regulate the proper distribution of accommodation, the Council of Peoples Commissars issued a decree dated May 25, 1919, dealing with the distribution of accommodation among the working population. This decree concerns the measures to be taken with regard to the distribution of accommodation and the census of housing accommodation in the different areas. The measures indicated are to be taken by the Housing and Land department in co-operation with the local organisations concerned with sanitary inspection, the order of procedure and the conditions under which the population should be moved are definitely laid down; the necessary sanitary minima to be observed are also defined.

#### IN THE COUNTRY

In the country the question of equal and uniform distribution of houses has not been so acute as in the towns. There is no lack of houses for peasants, or at least it is easily provided by the gradual growth in the number of peasants' houses. It is noticeable that there was an increased amount of building of peasants' houses during last year. The sanitary conditions of peasants' houses, and of villages themselves, must be recognised as exceedingly bad. And as it is recognised that the reason for houses being dirty lies in the absence of a knowledge of hygiene, and of the importance of cleanliness, the Commissariat of Health has introduced a plan of instruction in sanitation and makes considerable efforts to struggle against the evil in this way. Local sanitary councils exist which take steps for the maintenance of cleanliness in yards and streets and for the improvement of the water supply.

#### FOOD, CLOTHING AND OTHER ARTICLES

Besides food cards and increased rations for workers, whatever measures are possible under present conditions are taken to organise social feeding. There are already public dining-rooms in all towns and free meals are arranged for workers and officials of Soviet institutions. The following table illustrates the condition of public provision of meals in Moscow up to May 1, 1920:—

|   |         |         |
|---|---------|---------|
| Dining-rooms for Adults (Municipal and Factory)   | .. ..   | 615     |
| Number of Dinners served, of which 41,451 were paid for and the rest were free                          | .. .. . | 529,351 |
| Dining-rooms for Children   | .. .. . | 505     |
| Number of children dealt with   | .. .. . | 250,630 |
| Number of children fed at School and those who got additional or complete feeding (at 627 institutions) | .. .. . | 51,528  |
| There exist, in addition, tea-rooms which, up to June 1, 1920, dealt with                               | .. .. . | 27,488  |

The supply of clothing and boots meets with irresistible obstacles owing to the absence of manufactured goods and of leather. Meanwhile, notwithstanding the enormous difficulties, the supply of special clothing necessary as a protection for special work is satisfactory and comprises water-proof clothing and boots and warm clothing and boots for winter. The supply of furniture is in a more satisfactory condition, it exists in abundance, and is placed at the disposal of the supply department for equal and proportional distribution under the plan for the nationalisation and municipalisation of real-estate.



*Visits to Educational Institutions*

By L. HADEN GUEST.

May 14, 1920.—Some members of the delegation visited the Headquarters of the Petrograd Child Education and Welfare Department in charge of Madame Lilna. Madame Lilna (the wife of Zinoviev, President of the Third International) is in charge of that part of education in Petrograd and district which deals with children from birth to 16 years of age. The office was very busy and employed many people; as in many other offices there was a good deal of movement of people to and fro in the corridors. Madame Lilna is a small woman, very active and very concentrated on her work. Our conversation was in French, and we did not in consequence need any interpreter. I informed Madame Lilna that my particular interest in medicine was in children, and especially in school children, having done many years' work in London as a school doctor under the County Council. Madame Lilna consequently went into considerable detail with me, and I translated for other members of the delegation and for newspaper correspondents as we went along. We were told that about half the children in Petrograd were in some kind of educational establishment, children under three being in orphanages or attending Infant Consultations, older children attending school and either living in special houses set aside for children apart from their parents—(the number of these homes was given as 460)—or in boarding schools, or at home with their parents. We were given many statistics of teachers in training, number of adults being given evening school instruction, etc. The same day we visited, with Madame Lilna, a school on the outskirts of Petrograd where over 600 children were established in a species of colony in a group of houses taken over from their former middle-class occupiers. Only 150 of the children were, however, in residence, the rest attending from their homes. The school (27th Soviet School, Petrograd Rayon) was scattered about over a considerable area, and we only saw a part of it. There was a chemical laboratory fairly well equipped, and a physics laboratory very well equipped, indeed, with all kinds of electrical apparatus and with much mechanical apparatus—wheels, pulleys, etc. Other rooms were ordinary, fairly large, living rooms adapted as school rooms. Much of the instruction was given in the open air. The institution is probably the best in Petrograd.

The physique of the children was equal to that of London children in an average school in a poor district. Not all children were fed at school, but only those in residence and the others who brought all their ration cards. The food on the day of our visit consisted of black bread, a small quantity of sugar, soup, and a "cutlet" made of Volga herring and potatoes, with sunflower seed "butter." "Coffee" and "tea" (substitutes) and bread were served at the morning meal at 9.30 a.m. Soup and bread for mid-day meal at 12, the cutlet and bread at 4, and "what remains over" and a slice of bread at 8 p.m. We ourselves ate a sample 4 p.m. meal, which was quite palatable. Meat is given occasionally, but no green vegetables, although potatoes and beetroot sometimes. Some milk was said to be available for the weakly children. This dietary is deficient in several ways—markedly in fats and in fresh foods.

The dormitories for the resident children were arranged in different houses and were simple and clean. The teachers stated that they had had to sign a "return" certifying that the religious Ikons had been removed from the dormitories. Nevertheless, there were numerous Ikons seen above the beds. Many of the teachers spoke French or English. Practically no teachers are members of the Communist Party, but they wish to continue in their work as teachers to help children.

One house we saw was used as a hospital for sick children, and a doctor was available when required. We went to the special Medico-Pedagogic Institution of Professor Gribædov (Quartier Petrograd), and were shown the methods in use for the study and classification of the mentally defective. In this institute, indeed in every other office in Russia, great use was made of diagrams and charts to illustrate the subject matter of study. Very little has as yet been done, but the Government hope to segregate the different classes of defectives as is done in England and America.

A day or two after this visit I selected a school at random from a list of schools in Petrograd, and paid a surprise visit in the morning, taking with me, as interpreter, a Russian lady doctor who spoke French. There were about 300 children in the school, which was in a large building taken over for the purpose in the Second Quarter of Petrograd (School number 32). The general condition of the children was like that in London. No serious defects seen. Some pallor but no grave anæmia. Nutrition of some children very good. I inspected four classes of about thirty each, one of which was studying German, one Arithmetic, and the two others were on the point of breaking up, so I did not keep the children to inquire the subjects. There was an improvised theatre in the school. Plaster and paper on walls of school were dilapidated in places, but premises were otherwise in good condition.

The next schools seen were in Moscow on Sunday, May 23, the first being an Institute of Physical Experiment and Culture used in pre-revolution days as an Orphanage for children of nobles and officers—the rooms were good and there was a gymnasium of usual English type. During last winter the central heating pipes had burst and a system of temporary pipes laid loosely over the flooring had been temporarily installed. The children were dressed in one-piece garments of coarse dark linen, arms, legs, heads, bare—they looked thin, but most of them healthy. The total number of children was 160, varying between 8 and 14 years of age. The school is used as a training establishment for teachers of industrial processes. We visited the carpenters' shop where there were seven benches. Four children were in the shop dressed only in cotton or linen drawers. In another room about 100 children were collected together, most of whom were dressed in cotton or linen drawers only. Another room was fitted up for teaching weaving with three handlooms, nine small hand frames and four bigger frames. The children sang the "Internationale" for us, their expressions being oddly reminiscent of English children singing "God Save the King." After this the children marched to music, and seventeen of them dressed up in national costume and danced and sang Russian folk-songs. A number of instructors assisted at the performance—those engaged in physical instruction being dressed in bathing drawers only.

In this school, as in others, there were a good many evidences of the natural artistic ability of the children. M. Lunacharsky (Commissar for Education) had called at the school and told the children a story which they subsequently illustrated in a book. The children had also made a model of a tropical jungle, very realistically done. The children in this school were selected by careful medical examination, and only those quite healthy and free from defect were accepted. About half the number were said to be nobles' children in residence before the revolution. The remainder were workers' children. I had a talk with a typical noble's child, a good-looking, frank girl of 13, speaking good French, and a talk with a typical sturdy proletarian child, through an interpreter. The sanitary arrangements were not good, only four w.c.s being provided for the children and only three shower baths.

On the same day we visited the Sokolniki Forest School in a wood just outside Moscow. The school has been established for two years, and is for pre-tuberculous children, who stay for three months. The place was clean and airy,

the dormitories had no furniture but the beds. The children were benefiting by their stay. We also saw on this day the "Children's Colony" at Silver Wood, about 20 miles from Moscow, which is established in a house formerly a retreat of Peter the Great. About 90 children were in residence, ten were peasants' and ten workers' children, the remainder were children of officials of the Commissariat of Public Health, and the wife of the Commissar (Madame Semasko, also a doctor) was in charge of the institution and had her own daughter there. The situation of the colony was charming, and the rooms amply big enough. The children were of the same type as those seen at Petrograd. In this school it was more easily possible to get milk and eggs from the surrounding villages than in the town, and the diet was better than that at the colony seen in Petrograd.

On May 24 Madame Kalinina, in charge of Children's Colonies and Kindergartens in the Moscow Province (excluding the town) called on me and invited the delegation to visit some of the institutions under her control. The Moscow Government Schools were divided into Crèches up to three years, Kindergarten four to eight, Primary eight to thirteen, Secondary thirteen to sixteen, and University sixteen to eighteen. The number of children in the Government of Moscow was said to be 600,000, and the number of schools 2,800. (Figures are given with reserve.)

There are, however, very few books and very little educational "apparatus," so that most lessons are oral and take the form of singing, dancing, etc. Madame Kalinina stated they had no boots, no soap, no tooth brushes or tooth powder, that "the most necessary things are missing," and that they had "very hard conditions of life."

In the afternoon I went out with a French speaking interpreter, M. Peshkov, the son of Maxim Gorki, and as we walked along we inquired for a school and went into School 60 (Town Rayon). As it was four o'clock, there were no children to be seen, but we interviewed the resident teacher. The school was open from 10 to 1.30 p.m. only. Last year dinners were given, but this year no meals had been given. I inspected five class-rooms with accommodation for thirty each, the accommodation was bad, the desks being rough, old and unsuitable. There was a very nice music room with two (or three) good pianos. Some very good art work was seen—a curious and charming effect being produced by a collectively-composed "picture" made partly by water-colour painting and partly by sticking on pieces of leaves, birch bark, twigs, etc. The subject was "Red Riding Hood" with the Wolf in the Wood.

Part of the premises were used as a "Club for Workers' Children" and were rather knocked about. In this club, and in the school, were pictures of Karl Marx and the Bolshevik leaders and some mottoes stretched across the walls in red bunting—"Long live work and discipline in work," "The Workers' School brings death to the enemies of young souls." There were also caricatures depicting the evils of the bourgeois regime.

The sanitary arrangements were bad, the only wash-basin being broken and unusable, and of the five w.c.s two were very dirty and one extremely dirty.

Attached to the school was a nice garden where lessons were given when possible.

The curriculum at this school comprised Arithmetic, Geography, Anatomy, History of the Revolution, Communism.

The teacher said the school was a normal Moscow school, and that there were six or eight other schools of the same type quite near and now working. This particular school had been established fourteen years before the Revolution and was reopened soon after. I saw books on Arithmetic, Grammar and Reading, which were apparently pre-revolutionary. Also some wall diagrams. None of these books, etc., appeared to have been used.



The staff of the school consisted of seven women and one man, all of them being trained teachers.

On June 1 we visited schools at Samara, where a "Children's Colony" has been established about eight miles outside the town in a group of former summer residences of richer families. There were over fifty houses in the colony, two being occupied by Lettish children, four by Polish, one by Lithuanian, five by Jewish, and the rest by Russians. The houses I went over were charmingly situated but the dormitories were overcrowded. In one room, containing thirteen beds, a child, ill with malaria, was lying in bed and no attempt at isolation was made by use of mosquito-netting or otherwise. There were no medicines to treat the malaria. In another room with nine beds was another girl with malaria.

The children sang us the "Internationale" and "England, Arise!" in Lettish, and brought us large bunches of flowers with greetings to be sent to English children. A small boy, aged about twelve, made us a set speech on Communism, evidently learned by heart, in which so many stock phrases played a part that we understood him without translation.

We were told there were 36,000 children in Samara, with accommodation in the colony for 1,000 children and in the town for 3,000. Some of the children in the colony, however (Letts, Jews, etc.), were refugees and some were from near-by villages.

A mistress (speaking English or French) in one of the houses told us that the children had no milk except what she herself purchased. We had tea with the children, consisting of black bread, tea substitute, and a sweetmeat made by the children consisting of fruit pulp and sugar. We were told that typhus had killed 5 per cent. to 6 per cent. of the children in the winter, and that conditions then were very severe. The children looked free and happy, although badly dressed and some without footwear. The teachers were evidently—as elsewhere—enduring difficult conditions.

On June 2 I visited schools at the village of Beresnaki, which has a population of about 13,000 and about 2,000 children. There is school accommodation in the village for 500 children. The schools are only open from September 1 to Easter, as during the rest of the year the children work with their parents in the fields. The school age is from 8 to 13. Some children only attend to learn rudiments of reading and writing and then leave. One school seen had room accommodation for 60 children—the school was, of course, closed and there were grass and weeds over a foot high in the playground. The only school furniture was a few desks, one blackboard and one Abacus.

There was no food difficulty in the village and no communal provision of food. A room used for an "Adult School" was also seen in this village. It was a nice room, furnished with chairs and a table, holding about twenty people. There were 60 adult pupils on its roll and a few books in a box.

Inquiries and inspections made at other places confirmed the general impression gained from the notes given here. Only a few of the numerous statistics given to us are here mentioned because all of them need to be accepted with reserve. M. Pokrovsky, assistant to M. Lunacharsky, Commissar for Education, said that many of their schemes were still only on paper. The most serious shortage is that of teachers, and this cannot of course be made good for some time. It is in this field, perhaps, that Western Europe can most help Russia. Some teachers have been alienated by the Government's anti-religious policy and now refuse to teach, but a better opportunity for understanding secular education will, no doubt, change matters as time goes on.

# PART LIST OF TOWNS AND VILLAGES VISITED IN RUSSIA

|                                |                                 |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Astrakhan                      | Petrograd                       |
| Borisov (near)                 | Samara and villages in province |
| Dmitri                         | Saratov                         |
| Ilinskaia-Pust                 | Simbirsk                        |
| Kamyschin                      | Smolensk                        |
| Kazan                          | Timounievka                     |
| Markstad (formerly Baronsk)    | Tsaritsyn                       |
| Moscow and surrounding country | Razan                           |
| Nijni-Novgorod                 | Vladimirovka                    |
| Novodzevichies                 | Yambourg                        |

## PART LIST OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED

### *People's Commissars*

|             |   |   |   |  |
|-------------|---|---|---|--|
| CHICHERIN   | - | - | - | <i>Foreign Affairs</i>                           |
| KRISTINSKY  | - | - | - | <i>Finance</i>                                   |
| LENIN       | - | - | - | <i>President, Council of People's Commissars</i> |
| LUNACHARSKI | - | - | - | <i>Education</i>                                 |
| MILUTIN     | - | - | - | <i>Vice-President, Supreme Economic Council</i>  |
| SEMASKO     | - | - | - | <i>Public Health</i>                             |
| SEREDA      | - | - | - | <i>Agriculture</i>                               |
| SVERDLOV    | - | - | - | <i>Acting-Transport</i>                          |
| SCHMIDT     | - | - | - | <i>Labour</i>                                    |
| TROTSKI     | - | - | - | <i>War</i>                                       |
| TZURUPA     | - | - | - | <i>Food Supply</i>                               |
| XENOFONTOFF | - | - | - | <i>Acting-Extraordinary Commission</i>           |

In addition, many of the colleagues and assistants of the People's Commissars were interviewed at length.

### *Political Parties*

*Mensheviks* { M. ABRAMOVITCH  
M. DAHN  
M. MARTOFF  
and many others

*Social Revolutionaries* { M. TCHERNOFF  
and some others

Representatives of other political parties were also seen.

*Trade Unionists* { M. LOSOVSKI  
M. MELNITCHANSKI  
M. TOMSKI  
and many others

*Army and Navy* { M. TOMACHEVSKI—Commander-in-Chief against Poles  
M. BALTISKI—Commanding Volga region  
M. ZELENYI—Commanding Baltic Fleet

|                                 |   |  |
|---------------------------------|---|--|
| <i>Representing<br/>Soviets</i> | { | M. KAMENEF—President, Moscow Soviet        |
|                                 |   | M. ANSELOVITCH—President, Petrograd Soviet |

Numerous representatives of Soviets of towns, villages and provinces visited.

|                      |   |   |
|----------------------|---|---|
| <i>Public Health</i> | { | (In addition to Commissar)  |
|                      |   | DR. PERVOUCHEN—Chief of Petrograd Health Service<br>and numerous doctors in Petrograd, Moscow,<br>Saratov and elsewhere |

|                  |   |   |
|------------------|---|---|
| <i>Education</i> | { | (In addition to Commissar)  |
|                  |   | MDME. LILNA—Education of Children for Petrograd<br>MDME. INNESSA ARMAND—Education of Children for<br>Moscow |

Very many teachers and workers in school service.

|   |   |                                    |
|---|---|------------------------------------|
| <i>Representing Third<br/>International</i> | { | MDME. BALABANOV (former Secretary) |
|   |   | M. RADEK (present Secretary)       |

Members of the Committee were also seen.

A very large number of private persons were seen, including Prince Kropotkin, M. Tchertkoff, M. Belmont, M. Cheliapine and many others representing the professional classes and many of the former bourgeoisie and nobility.



# GLOSSARY

|                    |   |
|--------------------|---|
| <i>Artel</i>       | An association of workers who jointly and mutually guarantee the performance of certain work.                 |
| <i>Centrosoius</i> | Central Union of Co-operative Societies.  |
| <i>Collegium</i>   | Board or Committee.   |
| <i>Commune</i>     | Any enterprise run on Communal or Co-operative principles.  |
| <i>Desiatin</i>    | 2.7 acres.  |
| <i>Government</i>  | Province.   |
| <i>Gubernia</i>    | See "Government."   |
| <i>Oblast</i>      | A geographical area embracing more than one "Government."   |
| <i>Pood</i>        | 36.11 British pounds.   |
| <i>Pound</i>       | 9/10ths of British pound (weight).  |
| <i>Præsidium</i>   | A small body (often the Chairman, Vice-Chairman and Secretary) forming the nucleus of a Council or Committee. |
| <i>Soviet</i>      | Council.  |
| <i>Subbotnik</i>   | Voluntary labour performed on Saturday afternoons for reconstruction purposes.                                |
| <i>Trust</i>       | A combination of several industrial undertakings having the same character.                                   |
| <i>Uyezd</i>       | Groups of Volosts (nearest parallel—a County).  |
| <i>Verst</i>       | 1166 yards.   |
| <i>Volost</i>      | Group of villages (nearest parallel—a Rural District).  |









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